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# Sociology and Social . . . Research . . .

## AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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## SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH March-April, 1940

## CULTURE PATTERNS AMONG THE AINUS OF JAPAN

WILLIAM KIRK

Pomona College

• The Ainus of Hokkaido in northern Japan were originally a numerous branch of the Caucasian race, but the culture which they have inherited from their primitive forefathers is disintegrating rapidly as the Japanese surround their native villages with alien speech and alien customs. Some scientists have held that a race more primitive than the Ainus lived not only in Hokkaido but also in Japan proper before the coming of the Caucasians from the mainland to the north. Such evidence as the remains of pits in which a crude race might have lived, together with certain remnants of pottery, and finally, difficult place names whose meaning could not at the time be ascertained, seemed to point to the presence of an earlier people. A more careful study of the pits, human remains, artifacts, and place names, however, has led to the conclusion that the Ainus were the real aborigines who intermingled with an Asiatic people many centuries ago to form the present Japanese race. They have added many picturesque place names to the Japanese language, just as the American Indians have enriched the vocabulary of the Americans. In the one case, however, a Mongolian race has sub-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the *Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University, Tokyo, No. 1*, on page 57, Professor B. H. Chamberlain wrote: "Why should not some (place names) have descended from the aborigines who preceded the Ainus, the latter adopting them as the Japanese have adopted Ainu names?"

merged a branch of the Caucasian; in the other, Caucasians have conquered the descendants of a primitive Mongolian race.

Place names which formerly puzzled the ethnologists have now been traced to Ainu sources, and the old pits and graves have yielded skulls, bones, and earthenware that invariably prove to be relics of an ancient Ainu culture.<sup>2</sup>

When the Japanese people started to colonize the island of Hokkaido at the beginning of the sixteenth century, they found strange natives who differed markedly in physical characteristics from all the Asiatic peoples to whom they themselves were closely related. These aborigines had sturdy bodies, long arms, large heads, and bones "marked by an extraordinary flattening." Their skins were light brown without a trace of the Mongolian yellow; their brown eyes were horizontal rather than slanting, round instead of almond shaped, and they showed no sign of the fold so typical of Mongolian peoples. The men wore heavy beards and mustaches; the women were strangely tattooed around their mouths and on their hands and arms.

The question "whence came this race?" has given rise to lively controversies over the years, but the prevailing belief today seems to be that the Ainus were not Mongoloid at all and very probably were related to the European peoples from whom they had separated many centuries before and then had slowly found their way to the Pacific Ocean over some northerly route.

In the seventeenth century, when records of Ainu life were first published, the natives were emerging from a purely hunting and fishing economy to enter the agricul-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Venerable Dr. John Batchelor, The Pit-Dwellers of Hokkaido and Ainu Place-Names Considered, Sapporo, 1925. A few typical Ainu place names in Japan today are: Fuji-Yama—Goddess of Fire; Noboribetsu—Turbid River; Sapporo—Dry River; Shiraoi—High Tide Land; Biratori—The Village between the Cliffs.

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iver; ween tural stage as they fell more and more under the influence of their Japanese conquerors. In spite of these contacts, the pure Ainus have continued to be for the most part hunters and fishermen. Before the introduction of the loom, they wore coats made of fur, feathers, fishskins, and straw. Later they used cloth woven from the inner bark of the mountain-elm trees.

The primitive looms and the art of weaving, which came originally from Japanese culture, brought about many changes in the social life of the natives. Again, the early Ainus knew nothing of the art of smelting iron and depended upon stone or bone tools and implements, but for two centuries at least iron has taken the place of stone.<sup>3</sup> The Ainus do not work in metal themselves; so they obtain iron fishhooks, knife blades, arrowheads, spear points, et cetera, from the Japanese traders.

Pottery, extensively used in former times, became a lost art when the iron knife made possible a general development of wood carving. Today plates, buckets, dippers, ladles, mortars and pestles for grinding millet, and a number of other articles are now carved from wood. In several villages the writer found little shops in which the natives were busily at work carving Ainu bears from solid blocks of wood. These wooden bears in various sizes, some very small and some very large, were to be sold as curios in the stores throughout Japan. It is also interesting to note that Japanese handicraftsmen are taking up the art and are becoming so skillful that they may soon drive the Ainus out of the business.

With the development of barter the Ainus began to accumulate Japanese goods in their houses in exchange for bear and fox skins, and today their greatest treasures are the imported necklaces, earrings, swords, and lacquered wares which occupy the northeast corner of their

<sup>3</sup> N. G. Munro, Prehistoric Japan (Yokohama, 1911).

homes. The Ainu hunter did not have effective weapons; so he devised different kinds of primitive traps, according to the habits of wild animals. He used the spring bow with poisoned arrows for deer and bears, but the Japanese government has long since prohibited the use of poison and arrow traps, and the Ainu now hunts with a gun. Consequently, hunting is becoming more and more difficult as the animals are frightened by the sound of the shooting and retreat farther and farther into the mountains.

For fishing and transportation on the rivers the Ainu depended upon his small canoe. For coastwise travel, he built larger canoes with boards on both sides and rush-mat sails to go with the oars.

Where agriculture was least advanced, dogs were the most important livestock. These tractable animals were invaluable in game hunting as well as burden bearing and, when they became too old to work, they provided their masters with a convenient supply of food and furs for the very cold winter season.

Until recent years, the economic life of the natives had been quite communistic. Each kinship society, for example, held the fishing or hunting rights in common. Large communities, composed of two or more family units, owned a certain area in common, defended it against the encroachments of other groups, and divided the game or catch equally among their members. Some of the older chiefs still recall the days when the whole salmon catch in the fishing season was dried and stored for future use. When a bear was captured, the good news spread rapidly, and the natives all rushed out to welcome the hunters. When they divided the meat among the natives, the elders did not overlook the right of an unborn baby to be counted and receive a share. Although private property has gained

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Poison was also used in bird hunting. T. Inukai, *Transactions* of the Sapport Natural History Society, 14(2):136-37, 1935.

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at the expense of these old communal customs, even today every meal is divided among all persons who happen to be in the family. If the amount of food is limited, it is customary to give a larger share to old men, women, and children.

Before the Japanese took possession of the land, the Ainus would migrate according to the season from old hunting and fishing grounds to new. These groups did not wander about aimlessly, but followed a schedule in their search for food—herring fishing in the spring, trout in summer, salmon in autumn, and bear hunting during the winter months. Today, with Japanese agriculture, fisheries, and other industries surrounding their villages, the Ainus must settle down and accommodate themselves to an alien culture if they are to remain self-supporting.

Are these natives equipped mentally and culturally to face this "peaceful penetration" from the mainland of Japan?

In 1878 a European traveler after a visit to a number of native villages in Hokkaido reported that

the hairy Ainus, as these savages have been called, are stupid, gentle, good-natured and submissive. They are a wholly distinct race from the Japanese. In complexion they resemble the peoples of Spain and Southern Italy, and the expression of the face and the manner of showing courtesy are European rather than Asiatic. If not taller they are of a much broader and heavier make than the Japanese. . . . Their language is a very simple one. They have no written characters, no literature, no history, very few traditions, and have left no impression on the land from which they have been driven.<sup>5</sup>

After a summer of study among the Ainus and their numerous neighbors the Japanese, the writer feels that this statement for the most part fairly describes the situa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mrs. J. F. Bishop, Unbeaten Tracks in Japan (London: George Newnes, New Edition, 1900), pp. 268-69.

tion today. "Gentle, good-natured and submissive" they seem to be, but they are not so "stupid" as a brief experience among them might lead the casual visitor to believe. The old Ainus, for example, showed considerable wisdom and foresight in selecting sites for their villages. They always built their houses near a bountiful supply of good drinking water, and they located their villages along the banks of salmon streams invariably away from the unhealthful lowlands. Perhaps the easygoing Ainus, like most primitives, did appear "stupid" alongside of the active, nervously aggressive Japanese, but we must remember that these natives were being called upon to adjust to an entirely different cultural pattern which brought to them alien ideas, standards, and ways of doing things. The acculturation process always has continued at the expense of Ainu folkways and mores; the trend is altogether in the direction of Japanese customs; so today we may perhaps speak of the natives as "dazed" or bewildered but not necessarily "stupid." The fact that the Ainus have adjusted themselves to a strange culture during the past fifty years and have often reached Japanese standards proves that these natives are by no means inferior mentally.

In a recent study of primitive intelligence, the Porteus Maze has given us comparative figures for a number of primitive races, including the Ainus. Although these tests are in themselves an unsatisfactory measure of intelligence, the mental traits which are called for seem to be useful also in making necessary social adjustments. It is interesting at least to note that the Philippine Negritos, the Sakai Jeram, and the African Bushmen scored the lowest of all the people in the Maze, while the Ainus of Hokkaido made one of the highest average scores, ranking

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> S. D. Porteus, *Primitive Intelligence and Environment* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1937), pp. 257-58, 270-73, 313-16.

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above the Central Australians and being excelled only by the Tamils of southern India. The natives of Hokkaido who were tested, however, may or may not have been pure Ainus, for the social processes of assimilation and amalgamation have gone so far that many of them have intermarried with the alien race and their children are more Japanese than Ainu. According to the best authority, there are very few pure Ainus today under thirty years of age.

Social and cultural change has taken place most rapidly during the past fifty years. Before that time the natives lived apart and to a considerable degree retained their own culture. We learn from the diary of a traveler in 1878 that

In these mixed villages the Ainus are compelled to live at a respectful distance from the Japanese and frequently outnumber them, as at Horobets where there are forty-seven Ainu and only eighteen Japanese houses. The Ainu village looks larger than it really is, because every house has a kura (for storage) raised six feet from the ground by wooden stilts. . . . Shiraoi consists of a large yadoya (Japanese inn) and about eleven Japanese houses most of which are sake shops, a fact which supplies an explanation of the squalor of the Ainu village of fifty-two houses which is on the shore at a respectful distance. There is no cultivation; in which it is like all the fishing villages on this part of the coast; but fish-oil and fish-manure are made in immense quantities, and though it is not the season here the place is pervaded by an "ancient and fish-like smell." The Ainu houses (at Shiraoi) are much smaller, poorer and dirtier than those of Biratori. I went into a number of them and conversed with the people, many of whom understand Japanese. Some of the houses looked like dens, and as it was raining, husband, wife and five or six naked children all as dirty as they could be with unkempt, elf-like locks, were huddled around the fires. Still, bad as it looked and smelt, the fire was the hearth and the hearth was inviolate, and each smoke- and dirt-stained group was a family. Even in those squalid homes, the broad shelf with its rows of Japanese curios always has a place. Altogether it is obvious from many evidences in this village that the Ainus have reaped abundantly of the disadvantages without the advantages of contact with Japanese civilization.7

<sup>7</sup> Bishop, op. cit., pp. 286-87 and 341-42.

More than sixty years have failed to change the outward appearance of these native houses, but many new influences have come to affect the life within. In fact, the writer in his study of Shiraoi in 1939 found approximately the same number of native huts as there were in 1878, but the "eleven Japanese houses" of that year have increased to several hundred and virtually surround the little Ainu settlement near the beach.

The Japanese government has made a special effort here to protect a small band of natives who are fully aware of their drawing power as a tourist attraction and are artful in banishing the squalor of former days.

Custom, however, is still strong enough to keep the style of the Ainu houses everywhere the same. There is neither variety nor change in the architecture—the difference lies in the size and the furnishings of the individual homes. A small house is invariably built on to the west side of a larger one. The small house is the vestibule and has a low doorway screened by a heavy reed mat. Here are kept the large wooden mortar and the pestle used for pounding millet, a wooden millet chest, nets and hunting gear, and bundles of reeds for repair work on roofs or walls. There is no window in this antechamber. One enters the larger room through a low doorway over which another heavy reed mat hangs. The main room averages from 20 to 45 feet long and from 15 to 25 feet wide. The height of the side walls is regulated by the size of the reeds, which are not more than five feet in length, and as the framework of the roof rises 20 feet or more above the top of the wall, this arrangement makes the roof seem very steep. On the left of the inner doorway is a wooden platform covered with a mat to provide sleeping quarters for the family. Directly in front of the doorway is the fireplace about six feet long, and beyond that on the far side of the hearth is the wooden platform where the guests are seated. Along every wall,

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on the left side as one enters the main building, or on the north, there is a low, broad shelf which contains Japanese curios, many of them valuable as antique art, though often marred by dirt and dampness,-lacquered urns, or tea chests, lacquered tubs, bowls and trays, spears, swords, and scabbards. These treasures are carefully guarded and are so highly prized that they are not bartered even for saké, the universal drink. There are one window on the east and two windows on the south side of the typical Ainu house. The east window is associated with the worship of native gods and overlooks the row of bleached bear skulls on the poles which run along the "sacred hedge" between the hut and the rising sun. The other two windows are shaded by curtains made of coarse reed mats. If the head of the household is a "mighty hunter," in other words, if he has been able to capture a large number of bears and to impale their skulls along his "sacred hedge," he may proudly display a wooden tablet on the front of his house commemorating in Japanese his deeds of valor.

In primitive times the chief of the simple kinship society was the head of the mother family and the priest of the community. Later, as the social organization became more complicated, the chief assumed other duties. He led the hunting parties as the "mightiest hunter"; he officiated at weddings, funerals, and other ceremonies; he settled disputes between villagers and punished offenders according to tribal law. As the outstanding leader, he represented his community in all intergroup affairs. His prestige gave him the right to live in a large hut, to have several wives, and to enjoy other special privileges, but his authority was definitely limited. A council of elders which met at the chief's hut had the right to veto his decisions. Dr. Batchelor writes,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Shin-ichiro Takakura, "Social Life of the Ainu Tribe of Hokkaido," reprinted from Dai-Nippon (Tokyo, Japan, 1936).

When I first came among them the people had no large buildings set apart as clubs, temples or assembly rooms. . . . When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, Kotanui and this means literally "village-home." If assembly-room or house had been intended the word uni, home, would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, chisei, house. "Village-home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.9

Usually when a chief grew old or died, the headship fell to a son or brother if he had the necessary physical prowess and strength of character. If the village was not willing to accept him, the council of elders selected another leader. When a number of villages were loosely joined together in a single area, one of the outstanding chiefs took the initiative in settling disputes between villages and in commanding the warriors in intertribal combats.

Within the villages themselves serious crimes were rare and blood vengeance did not exist. Personal quarrels were customarily settled by compromise or reparation, but occasionally the whole village became aroused and demanded community action. Then the elders gathered at the home of the chief in response to this popular sentiment and proceeded to give the offender a public trial. Chosen representatives presented the evidence on both sides and then, after a lengthy debate, the chief with the aid of his assistants rendered the verdict and named the penalty.<sup>10</sup> Dr. Batchelor tells us,

During one of my walks with chief Penri in bygone days we came across a tiny hut hidden away from everyone in the scrub and going to it, found two people, husband and wife who had lost

<sup>9</sup> Ainu Life and Lore (Tokyo: Kyobunkwan, 1927), p. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> G. P. Murdock, Our Primitive Contemporaries (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), pp. 174-75.

the points of their noses. I asked Penri about them afterwards and he told me they were very bad people indeed, and he had helped to cut off their noses at the ends a few years before, because they had been guilty of breaking into a granary and carrying off the grain. They were living there because they had been expelled from their village and no one would allow them henceforth to reside in the communities. "This is how it comes to pass that they are hidden away here, the beasts," he said.<sup>11</sup>

In Ainu society proper the father is the head of the household, although some authors claim that descent is traced primarily through the mother and that the mother's brother frequently holds a position of influence and authority in the family circle. The father leaves his property to his son, the daughter inherits household articles and women's apparel from her mother. If there are no sons, a man's property goes to the husband of his eldest daughter. In daily work the men hunt, fish, and make libations to the gods; the women till the soil, gather fuel and vegetable foods, clean and cook the fish, draw water, make bark cloth and mats, and oftentimes assist the men in the salmon-fishing season. The women work long hours, but they are accorded a comparatively high status in community life. They may be heard on occasion in council meetings but are not expected to take any part in religious ceremonies. Before marriage there is equality between the sexes; afterward, the woman takes charge of domestic affairs but comes under the dominance of her husband. Generally speaking, women receive courteous treatment, for a man fears to cross his wife lest she burn his inao or fetishes and bring down upon his head the wrath of the household gods.

Courtship and marriage are simple institutions among the Ainus. When a man wishes to marry a particular girl, he must first get the approval of the chief. Then he gains the consent of her father, in person or through a "go-

<sup>11</sup> Batchelor, op. cit., p. 276.

between," and shows his appreciation by presenting his future father-in-law with a gift, usually a Japanese "curio." The marriage, which quickly follows the betrothal, is celebrated by dancing, merrymaking, and an overindulgence in saké. The bride receives, as her dowry, earrings, a kimono, and the right to live in a separate house, which the groom has provided.

When polygamy exists, each wife is entitled to her own living quarters apart from the others. With the all-important consent of the chief, widows may marry again, and a dissatisfied husband may divorce his wife if he will send her back to her parents with an ample supply of good clothes. Divorce is very unusual where there are children

in the family.

In the old days the natives looked upon childless marriages as somewhat of a disgrace, for obviously the parties to the union were receiving special punishment from the gods for some sin which one or the other had committed. A man might divorce his wife for her failure to bear him a child, and one Ainu is reported to have divorced three wives because they were barren. As soon as a child was born, the father wrapped himself up before the fire and remained an invalid for several days. Life apparently was flowing from father to offspring. The mother returned to her household tasks as quickly as possible.<sup>12</sup>

In Ainu society a woman who is true to her husband is highly respected; if the wife is unfaithful, custom permits the husband to give her back to the other man if he is single, and to receive from him in return a certain amount of damages, usually in the form of Japanese curios which the chief himself has selected.

The old and the blind are supported by their children and are affectionately cared for as long as they live.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Batchelor, The Ainu of Japan (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1895), pp. 43-44.

Recounting personal experiences in an Ainu home, one early foreign visitor writes:

The habits of the people, though by no means destitute of decency and propriety are not cleanly. The women bathe their hands once a day, but any other washing is unknown. They never wash their clothes and wear the same by day and night. Their houses swarm with fleas, but they are not worse in this respect than the Japanese yadoyas. The hair and beards of the old men, instead of being snowy white, as they ought to be, are yellow from smoke and dirt. . . . At this moment a savage is taking a cup of sake by the fire in the centre of the floor. He salutes me by extending his hands and waving them towards his face, and then dips a rod in the saké and makes six libations to the god—an upright piece of wood with a fringe of shavings planted in the floor of the room. Then he waves the cup several times towards himself, makes other libations to the fire and drinks. Ten other men and women are sitting along each side of the firehole, the chief's wife is cooking, the men are apathetically contemplating the preparation of their food, and the other women who are never idle are splitting the bark of which they make their clothes. I occupy the guest-seat,a raised platform at one end of the fire, with the skin of a black bear thrown over it. . . . For three days they have kept up their graceful and kindly hospitality, going on with their ordinary life and occupations, and though I have lived among them in this room by day and night, there has been nothing which in any way could offend the most fastidious sense of delicacy. . . . I left the Ainus yesterday (Sarufuto, Yezo, August 27, 1878) with real regret, though I must confess that sleeping in one's clothes and the lack of ablutions are very fatiguing. Benri's two wives spent the early morning in the laborious operation of grinding millet into coarse flour, and before I departed, as their custom is, they made a paste of it, rolled it with their unclean fingers into well-shaped cakes, boiled them in the unwashed pot in which they make their stew of "abominable things" and presented them to me on a lacquer tray. They were distressed that I did not eat their food, and a woman went to a village at some distance and brought me some venison fat as a delicacy. All those of whom I had seen much came to wish me good-bye, and they brought so many presents (including a fine bearskin) that I should have needed an additional horse to carry them had I accepted but one half.13

Today the visitor to an Ainu village will find the same gentle courtesy and hospitality. If the members of the

<sup>13</sup> Bishop, op. cit., pp. 295, 298, 334.

family have not been shaken too violently from their ancient customs by the Japanese invasion, they will prepare the food in the same old way and will drink saké in the traditional manner as long as the supply lasts. The smoke from the open hearth will fill the room and inflame eyes already bloodshot from too much saké drinking. The dirty yellow locks of the elderly men will stand out boldly in the hazy atmosphere, while the soot from the smoldering fire will continue to collect on the framework over the hearth and blacken the rafters and the high ceiling.

In fact, kindness and good will among the members of their own group and hospitality to the stranger have been traditional traits in Ainu culture. In this respect these natives of Hokkaido do not differ from most primitive people who lead a simpler life. The Indians of the Americas, the New Zealand Maoris, and the Australian aborigines, among many others, are good natured and cordial to travelers, as long as an alien culture has not shattered their time-honored beliefs and standards.\*

<sup>\*</sup> This paper will be continued in the next issue of Sociology and Social Research under the title of "The Disappearing Culture Traits of the Ainus."

# DRAMATIC INSIGHT IN THE SOCIAL LEADER

# AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD Texas Christian University

• A little more than a century before Versailles there ended the career of Napoleon, who figured in the struggles that set the stage for the century intervening. Anyone who has studied the life of Napoleon discovers his dramatic imagination and sees that, however incapable of feeling the pains of others he might have been, he, nevertheless, had the ability to get into the minds of men in such a way as to control their responses in a remarkable manner. To read his speeches to his men, to hear him say so simple a thing as "Soldiers of the Army!" is to imagine how they must have felt at the very first word of his address and to feel that his and theirs were kindred spirits; that he was among the keenest of participant observers in all history in those aspects of group life to which he chose to give attention.

But, in the peace deliberations of the last World War, Woodrow Wilson sat as a creative genius unlike Napoleon in every way conceivable. He felt the sufferings of men everywhere. Like the old prophet, he "sat where they sat" in their sorrows; yet his success came out of his power to see the really significant tasks that confront mankind, not out of his knowledge of human behavior or out of his ability to read men's minds or to predict their responses to ready-made stimuli. In such knowledge, Napoleon was vastly superior. Wilson's weakness in the reflective observation of other men's minds seems to have caused his defeat in the "quad struggle" at Princeton during his presidency there, as it made more certain his defeat by the

Senate in his fight for the League of Nations; and, at the peace table, it is said that Clemenceau the Tiger proved an invincible barrier to him.

Half way in time between Napoleon and Wilson stood Abraham Lincoln, with qualities possessed by neither of the other two. He hit at the heart of essentials as readily as Wilson; and he added a capacity that Wilson did not have: enough insight into his adversaries and sufficient inhibition and humor either to wait them out or to control them. Anyone who will read Stephen Vincent Benét's John Brown's Body² will get real insight into the soul of Lincoln and will see, too, his power to "sit where others sat." Incidentally, he will also be struck by the dramatic insight of the poet, who has divulged more about the period than many "scientific" histories of the United States.

The death of Lincoln was a very great blow to the nation; for his capacity for dramatic insight was the element needed during the period of Reconstruction, when public policy fell into the hands of men so utterly devoid of sympathetic imagination, so completely incapable of putting themselves in the place of the vanquished by "taking the role of the other." It is a commonplace that the hatred kindled by war is conducive to inability to take the other's role; and at no time is this inability, which William James has called "a certain blindness in human beings," more prevalent than at just the moment when they should be able to see the clearest—the moment that calls for peace. This was the reason for the political ineptitude of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters, two volumes, Garden City, 1927, Volume II, Chapter XVI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Garden City, 1928.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Talks to Teachers on Psychology and . . . Ideals, New York, 1899, the lecture "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings." Cf. Vittorio Mussolini, Wings over Ambe, indicating the "fun" that the younger Mussolini had in Ethiopia dropping bombs on the natives in the name of civilization, as an illustration of utter lack of imagination such as James had in mind; about this, see editorial in the Nation, 145:393, 1937.

peacemakers not only at the close of the American Civil War but at the making of the Treaty of Versailles, where so many understood the minds of their own people and their own cause but the minds, the motives, and the cause of nobody else.

Many believe that at Versailles Clemenceau acted in the role of the compeller in representing the interests of the French with no apparent ability to enter into dramatic rehearsal of the future of Franco-German relations; with little capacity to conceive the play as the Germans were sure to conceive it in the future interaction of the several states entering into the peace. Perhaps the exigencies of the situation, however, and the strength of public sentiment made him as much the leader compelled as he was the compeller. Lloyd George, according to Sir Norman Angell and Sir Martin Conway, was a mere crowd exponent. In this respect Conway believes he was like Gladstone, of whom he quotes Bagehot:

No one half guides, half follows the moods of his office more quickly and more easily than Mr. Gladstone. . . . He receives his premises from his audience like a vapor and pours out his conclusions upon them like a flood. He will imbibe from one audience different vapor of premises from that which he will receive from another.

Then he continues himself to say that Mr. Lloyd George

is the visible and audible incarnation of popular tendencies. His emotions respond as sensitively to those of a crowd as ever a barometer to changes in atmospheric pressure. He has never manifested any trace of an individual mind or of an independent thought. He has added nothing to the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> As Clemenceau watched the reactions of Germany to the treaty in the decade following, he was so incapable of appreciating those reactions that he referred to Germany as "the most criminal nation in history." See Georges Clemenceau, Grandeur and Misery of Victory (translated by F. M. Atkinson), New York, 1930, p. 383.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Public Mind, New York, 1927, pp. 24-25, and Chapter I.

<sup>6</sup> The Crowd in Peace and War,—quoted in Morris Ginsberg, The Psychology of Society, New York, 1921, p. 156.

<sup>7</sup> Loc. cit.

stock of political ideas, but has perfectly voiced the ideas of the crowd by which he acts and from which he draws his emotions and his power.8

This being true of Mr. Lloyd George, it could hardly have been expected that he could rehearse in dramatic and anticipatory fashion the lines of the international play for the next quarter century so well as he could anticipate the entrances and the exits of the political play at home.

Faced thus as Woodrow Wilson was with the British and the French "conception of the whole play," his own truer conception expressed in the Fourteen Points had to

give way.

In the present crisis, involving Germany, Britain, France, and Poland, there are leaders with and leaders without powers of inhibition, but there may possibly be a dearth of leaders with sympathetic imagination leading to dramatic insight. Sir Neville Chamberlain seems to be possessed of considerable power to inhibit impulses in international dealing; but this characteristic may have been an echo of the attitudes of the constituency that brought him into power. It is more likely, however, that he was elevated to leadership because of his tendencies to caution at a time when precipitate action did not seem desirable. Mussolini, likewise, apparently possesses considerable power of self-restraint, which may again be supported by the present attitudes of his people; but Adolf Hitler is not generally credited by non-Germans with either capacity for inhibition or sympathetic imagination. Yet Hitler has imagined very well how the crowd would act when the Leader introduced an innovation; and he has so far introduced only innovations that have been opportune in the eyes of his own people; but no one can say what will be the ultimate effect on his leadership of the war into which he has plunged his constituency.

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<sup>8</sup> Loc. cit.

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Of both Hitler and Mussolini no one can ever say what Conway said of Lloyd George—that they have never manifested any trace of an individual mind. Both have at least one aspect of an individual mind-individual wills. Hitler's very recklessness, incomprehensible to those who cannot reconstruct in imagination, even when they know the "facts," the process through which he has evolved in a particular social situation as it has evolved, has "brought on another war." That Hitler and Mussolini have any ideas of their own, beyond Mussolini's corporation state, is rather doubtful. Both are commonly thought of as reprints of worn-out philosophies as old as Machiavelliand Rome.9 De Gobineau, Nietzsche, H. S. Chamberlain, Treitschke, and Von Bernhardi all live in Hitler today, together with his childhood experiences;10 and Pareto's disciple, Mussolini, is the incarnation of all that Pareto warned against in logical method. Yet both men ride the tide of popular sentiment which they are able to modify, if not solidify, because they understand and promise fulfillment of deep-set longings, cumulative in the history of their respective peoples—that is, of the majority of them. Neither is a creative leader, as is Eduard Benes, whom Hitler probably despises.

If the international situation demands leadership of those who possess the capacity to get into the minds of others in opposing vertical groups, the intranational situation demands the same capacity of leadership for directing the interaction of horizontal groups toward integration. Too few leaders can put themselves in the place of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Rene Fülöp-Miller, Leaders, Dreamers, and Rebels (translated by Eden and Cedar Paul), New York, 1935, gives a more sympathetic picture of Hitler and Mussolini in the light of their backgrounds than most writers; see pp. 382-420. Cf. Erika and Klaus Mann, Escape to Life, New York, 1939, for refugee pictures of Hitler.

<sup>10</sup> Mein Kampf (translated under auspices of Alvin Johnson), New York, 1939, is the very best source for the understanding of Hitler's "National Socialism" and his attitude toward the Jew.

the minority peoples or of the underprivileged groups in their own community or nation, as could Stephen Foster, for example. Many white leaders have no dramatic insight into the situation of the Negro or the immigrant in America; yet we are horrified, and should be, at the persecution of the Jews in Germany.

When we turn to the understanding of the relations of and the capacity for mutual understanding between horizontal groups, we find two English statesmen, little known in America in comparison with such alleged opportunists as Lloyd George, who have been able to get into the lives of their fellow countrymen in a remarkable degree, not

only as statesmen but also as social investigators.

The capacity for dramatic insight common to Sidney and Beatrice Webb has been a life-long factor in their ascendancy as social leaders and sociological investigators. Sidney had fellowship with the poor by virtue of his birth in highly saturated mid-London, and shared an early leadership of Fabian socialism with Graham Wallas, George Bernard Shaw, and Sidney Olivier. 11 Beatrice belonged to a family that seemed born to command, to exercise what Paul Pigors contrasts with leadership, the act of domination. 12 Growing up in a capitalistic family under the influence of her ardent admirer, Herbert Spencer, and starting her career as a social investigator by collecting data in support of his theories, she belongs to that stimulating and world-transforming group of social leaders who, themselves privileged, after coming into contact with the poor begin to despise privilege. Having contacted the poor by collecting rents in London slums for her father, she offered to help Charles Booth, her cousin, in his famous Enquiry. 13 She proposed to investigate the "sweating sys-

12 Leadership or Domination, New York, 1935, Chapters I-IV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Mary Agnes Hamilton, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Boston, New York, 1933, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 40-60. Cf. Donald Owen Wagner (editor), Social Reformers: Adam Smith to John Dewey, New York, 1934, Chapter XXIII.

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tem"; and "in order to make the picture that was to result not only actual but dramatic, determined to live for a space among the workers, 'as one of them.' "14 She went visiting with every inspector and collector in East-End London and worked as a trouser-hand in an East-London sweatshop. "It was then that her mind began to work on, and to challenge, the whole system as established by the Industrial Revolution."15

Moreover, both Webbs combined social insight with a high degree of objectivity. Incapable of being turned aside from significant work by personal considerations, <sup>16</sup> Beatrice Potter, proceeding in her usual manner as an observing participant in her study of "Co-operation," came to see, "with one of those swift imaginative flashes that make her far more than an investigator," that

[they were] doing something [in the co-operatives] quite different from what they imagined: they were engaged in an effort... to organize industry from the consumption end and to place it from the start upon the basis of "production for use" instead of "production for profit," under the control and direction not of the workers as producers, but of themselves as consumers.<sup>17</sup>

After the marriage of Beatrice Potter and Sidney Webb, they had a large part in remaking economics, <sup>18</sup> became the outstanding social leaders in the remaking of civic London, and exercised great influence in building up the Labor party in England, which Ramsay MacDonald scuttled in 1931, much to the disgust of Sidney, then Minister of Colonies in the cabinet as Lord Passfield. With great relief, at that moment, Lord Passfield became, once

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>15</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>16</sup> Alfred Marshall tried to get her to write "a study of her sex as an industrial factor" with the idea that her name would be a "household word two hundred years hence"; but she was not giving the reactions of a feminist. See *ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

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more, Sidney Webb. 19 Moreover, the Webbs were leaders in stimulating the development of sociological research. They keenly felt that after a "whole century of marvellous discovery in physical and biological science," research in "the conditions of human grouping and co-operation had fallen lamentably behind," since the "sum total of all endowments for this purpose," in the great social laboratory of London, did not reach one hundred pounds per year. 20

Sidney and Beatrice Webb combine the qualities of social leaders and social investigators in an unusual way, because of their energy, their sympathetic insight, and capacity for imagining what it would be like to belong to some other group or to be somebody else. They have marshaled oceans of facts, while "cherishing all the hypotheses" they could "lay their hands on." They exemplify clearly the relationship of the leader to the playwright which we have so far emphasized and of the social investigator to the leader which we wish further to emphasize in the closing paragraph of this paper.

The final contention is that students of social research could profitably examine the lives of great leaders in an effort to determine how these men obtained the social knowledge that placed them in commanding positions, if not as the creators of new cultural patterns effective for their own times, at least as the generators of new germinal ideas that have triumphed in the long run in the "strain

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 288-90.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Karl Marx as an economist belonged to those who could not imagine himself in the place of anyone but the proletarian. In his ferment after studying Hegel in the university, he "returned to Berlin in the mind to embrace every loafer at the street corners." From that time forward he was busy in turning the Hegelian dialectic into the doctrine of class struggle. Surely Reinhold Niebuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society, New York, 1932, has, like Marx, been too pessimistic about intergroupal morality and understanding. Among the upper classes there have been, often, those who rehearsed the part of the downtrodden until they became the latter's leaders. See Rene Fülöp-Miller, op. cit., for the effect produced on members of the privileged classes by the miseries observed in the Industrial Revolution.

<sup>22</sup> Hamilton, op. cit., p. 108.

toward consistency in the mores"; that, since just those men in history who have seemed most successful in molding civilization into new patterns were those possessed of the dramatic insight of the playwright, the possession and exercise of such imagination are essential in social research. For, when we engage in social research, we are trying to gain more knowledge of society in the interest of more effective controls; and those social scientists who value values as having no place in science are interested in the discovery of controls, even though they may not care as scientists whether or for what purpose these controls are to be used. If, then, it is the place of the social scientist to understand society in the interest of more effective controls, he may profitably ask how the most influential leaders in history came by the knowledge of human behavior which won for them the responses they desired the multitude to give. As he does so, he will find that not the narrowest doorway of the leader's social understanding is his ability to participate in the mental and social life of his own group and of all the other groups with which his group comes into interaction by imagining what their attitudes must be as an integral part of the total situation, and what their attitudes will be when he acts to introduce new elements into the situation.

## OBJECTIVE SELECTION OF GROUP LEADERS

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• Leadership is vital to the success of discussion groups. Any techniques, therefore, which can be discovered or devised to identify and properly assign group leaders will be a contribution to the successful organization of discussion groups.

It is the purpose of this paper to report the results of several successful experiments in selecting discussion group leaders. For purposes of this study, a leader of a discussion group is considered to be a member whom the others willingly follow. He is much more than a "headman"; rather he is the person who is most keenly aware of the meaning and bearing of the problems before the group—one who quickly, decisively, and acceptably aids the group to agree upon and move toward an accepted goal. In short, a leader in a discussion group is the center of the ongoing thought and action patterns.

If a discussion group is to function properly, it must have at its head a leader with the qualifications outlined above. How, then, can persons with leadership capacity be quickly identified and properly assigned?

The writer endeavored to determine some answers to these questions by conducting several experiments in the selection of leaders, as follows:

Identification by voice and appearance. When a class (to be operated by the discussion group plan) begins, the

<sup>1</sup> See George A. Eichler, "Studies in Student Leadership," Penn State Studies in Education, No. 10, 1934, p. 18. Also E. De Alton Partridge, "Leadership Among Adolescent Boys," Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 608, 1934, p. 9.

instructor may not know many of the class members. In fact, they may not even know one another very well. However, if good discussion groups are to be formed, a reasonably sound preliminary selection of leaders must be made.

A cue may be taken from Partridge's<sup>2</sup> experiment with Boy Scouts. Scouts with known differences in leadership abilities were taken before a group of strange boys and rated by them in leadership: first, by hearing their voices from behind a screen; second, by seeing them; and third, by seeing and hearing them speak simultaneously. Partridge found that:

The rank correlation between per cent of votes received on the basis of voice only and actual leadership ability in the known group is .543. The same relationship on sight only is .761... the relationship between sight and voice combined with leadership ability was .755.8

Thus, Boy Scout leaders could be selected with fair accuracy by seeing them and hearing them speak.

To select hastily preliminary group leaders for class discussion groups, the writer followed the plan of Partridge. He asked each member of the community of discussion groups that was about to be formed to rise and say a few words—why he was taking the course, for example. This gave the instructor a chance to judge the leadership qualities of the student from his general appearance and his manner of speaking and using his voice. This plan was used several times with success. The results of three trials of this plan, compared with the selections of leaders made by the group using the status rating plan described below, were as follows:

Trial	ber of leaders selected voice and appearance	Number confirmed by status ranking plan	
1	14	11	
2	10	8*	
3	9	7†	

<sup>\*</sup> Four of those confirmed were second choices of the group by very narrow margins.

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<sup>†</sup> Leaders selected after 5 weeks in general class discussion in class of 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Partridge, op. cit. <sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

Such a method of selecting leaders for primary groups is, however, imperfect, for some of the leaders are not approved by their groups. The procedure is much better than a blind guess and makes temporary group organization possible at once—allowing time for developing acquaintanceships to make possible the use of rating schemes to locate more accurately the persons whom others will follow.

There are three reliable ways of selecting or identifying group leaders by rating methods. The first is the status ranking method for use in small groups; the second, the five-man-to-man technique for use in clusters of groups; and the third, the sociometric method for the proper assignment of leaders. These methods are all significant because they determine whom others are willing to follow. They work from the bottom up rather than from the top down; they relate the leader to the existing group patterns.

Identification by status ranking. The status ranking method is an important first step away from the hurried methods used for early and speedy organization because it determines leadership status from an average of the reactions of all other members of the group toward each member. To determine the status ranking in leadership of the members of a small group, each member writes on a slip of paper the names of every member of the group (except himself). Then each gives every other member a rank in group leadership. For example, when there are five members in a discussion group, each member ranks each of the other four from rank 1 to rank 4. Instructions are to consider leadership ability as observed in the performance of each member. By this plan, then, each person is ranked four times by his own associates; and these persons are those best qualified to determine whom among them they are most willing to follow-in fact, they are the

only ones who can give a member status in that group.

The summary of the results of the ratings in one group was as follows:

Student	Individual Rankings	Number of Votes	Rank Order
В	1, 1, 1, 1	4	1
C	1, 2, 2, 2	7	2
D	2, 3, 3, 2	10	3
A	3, 4, 3, 3	13	4
E	4, 4, 4, 4	16	5

Student B is, therefore, the accepted leader of the group, and student E is no leader in the group. B has high leadership status and E, low leadership status.

The fact that B was selected as leader in this group does not mean, however, that he would be a leader in all groups. Each time he joins a new group, if he wishes to become a leader, he will have to demonstrate he can become the accepted leader or center of social potential in the group. No doubt his chances of becoming a leader in another similar group are good, but they are not demonstrated.

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The reliability of the rank order method is indicated by a product-moment correlation between status rankings in the same groups on two successive days:

Trial	N	*	P.E. 7
1	35	.684	.062

Validity may be judged in several ways. First, the process of rating itself is well motivated and made by the persons most able to judge. Again, the instructor's observations of good and poor leaders checked substantially with the status rankings.

Validity is best determined by comparing the status ranking of good leaders and poor leaders with a perfor-

mance rating of the same. The performance rating blank was as follows:

## LEADERSHIP RATING4

Name of Leader.....

"A leader is one whom others are inclined to follow."

Did the group follow the leader readily or did the group refuse to follow him? (Mark on X under the correct rating.)

The group willingly foldirections and suggestions.

The group followed many lowed most of the leader's of the leader's directions and suggestions.

The group went ahead without paying much attention to the leader because he gave few di-rections and suggestions.

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The group refused to follow the leader's directions and suggestions.

The group was in conflict with the leader.

First, fourteen "best" leaders (as determined by status ranking) were placed in charge of fourteen groups and rated on performance at the end of an hour. Then fourteen "poorest" leaders were placed in charge of the fourteen groups and rated on performance.

On the scale above, five points were given for the first performance rating and four, three, two, and one points for the other ratings in order. The results of the experiment were as follows:

Mean Performance Ranking of "Best" Status Ranking Leaders 4.6

Mean Performance Ranking of "Poorest" Status Ranking Leaders 3.4

Difference of means = 1.16

S.D. Difference = .353

 $E.C. = 1.18^{5}$ 

Thus, it was more than practically certain that the differ-

<sup>4</sup> The reliability of this scale is indicated by a correlation of .74 when <sup>14</sup> leaders were each rated by four group members on two successive days.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> An E.C. (experimental coefficient) "of 1.0 means that we can be practically certain that the true D (difference) is somewhere above zero." See Wm. A McCall, How to Experiment in Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), pp. 154-56.

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ence was greater than zero. Consequently, the status ranking plan of identifying leaders separated leaders and nonleaders as judged by their associates.

One more evidence of validity was found by comparing ratings of "good" and "poor" leaders on the traits of leadership, using the following rating scale:

## RATING OF LEADERSHIP TRAITS

Examine several traits of the leader. Consider each trait very carefully. Judge each trait as evidenced in actual performance in the group today. Make a separate careful judgment for each trait rated.

TRAIT	The quality connection a fore the grou (Un	of the to	proble	m or f	roblems be-
Intelligence	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Prestige (esteem)	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Knowledge (of facts)	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Forcefulness	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Insight (understanding)	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Steadiness of purpose	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Participation	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Quickness of decision	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Finality of decision	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Self-confidence	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Tact (social adaptability)	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Appearance	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Voice	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
Self-control	very good	good	fair	poor	very poor
	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)

The reliability of the scale, determined by correlating the ratings of 14 leaders on two successive days by use of the rank-difference method, was R = .853, r = .861,  $P.E._r = .069$ . A comparison of the ratings of the 14 "best" and "poorest" leaders was as follows:

Mean Rating of "Best" Leaders\* Mean Rating of "Poorest" Leaders
3.5

Difference of means = .979

S.D. Difference - .232

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E.C. = 1.51
\* The highest possible rating was 5.

Thus, another outside criterion distinguished between "best" and "poorest" leaders as determined by the status ranking method. It is concluded that the status ranking method is a reliable, valid, and easy method of identifying leaders within small discussion groups.

Five-man-to-man technique. Suitable as the status ranking method is for use in small groups, it is not usable in large groups, for it is difficult to put thirty persons in any accurate rank order. Also, if the best possible leaders are to be found, selection must be ultimately made from among the largest possible numbers. For large groups, from about ten to fifty members, leaders may be identified by the five-man-to-man technique. The success of this plan, as of the others, depends upon acquaintanceship.

The plan sets up several hypothetical groups of five members each drawn from among the larger group, so that each person may be judged in relation to others in different combinations of five. To arrange this, the name of each student is written five times on five separate slips of paper. Then all papers are thoroughly mixed. Following this, the slips are drawn out one by one and recorded in groups of five. No name appears twice in a group of five. This plan presents as many groups of names as there are students in the class; and each student is in a position to be judged in relation to his fellow students. The names are then mimeographed in groups as follows:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Partridge, op. cit., p. 44 ff. The plan was originated by Partridge for use with Boy Scouts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> It is often necessary to assist persons in becoming acquainted by mixing groups, by asking each to give his name, etc.

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## LEADERSHIP IN THE 3RD HOUR CLASS

"A leader is one whom others are inclined to follow."

—Eichler

Below are the names of the students in the 3rd hour class in Sociology. There are twenty-four groups of five names each. Examine each group of five names and put an "x" before the name of one person in each group whom you would select as a leader. You may vote for the same person more than once if you wish. If you are not sure—guess.

H. Kelly	E. Rose	M. Lundeen	R. Hamlin
E. Kowalczyk	J. Stallberger	A. Saunders	G. Plattes
R. Muehlbauer	M. Gordon	R. Muehlbauer	A. Shaum
M. Lundeen	M. Saunders	H. Severson	M. Holmgren
E. Anderson	B. Theisen	I. Klinger	E. Anderson
R. Anderson	M. Gordon	A. Saunders	G. Plattes
A. Saunders	H. Kelly	H. Severson	S. Vincent
I. Klinger	L. Kanne	E. Rose	L. La Sota
E. Kowalczyk	A. Shaum	E. Kowalczyk	E. Kowalczyk
M. Saunders	M. Lundeen	I. Klinger	R. Anderson <sup>8</sup>

To administer the scheme, each student is given a copy of the mimeographed sheet and asked to mark an "x" before the name of the person in each group he considers to be the best leader of a discussion group. The votes are then counted and the class members ranked in order of leadership—rank number 1 going to the person with the largest number of votes and the lowest rank going to the person with the smallest number of votes.

Reliability of this plan for use with college students was found by calculating a correlation between the results of successive administrations of the five-man-to-man rating sheet.

Trial	N	R	*	P.E. r
1.	21	.97	.972	.007
2.	34		.988	.003

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The other groupings of names are omitted in this article in order to conserve space.

The correlation between the rank order of 21 students and the average of five faculty ratings for each person was .72. This is high enough to indicate validity; but is lower than it would be if the faculty had been well acquainted with all the students rated.

Sociometric identification. The five-man-to-man technique is excellent for selecting as leaders those whom others will follow, but it fails to determine precisely which leaders will be most acceptable to particular groups. It would be possible, for example, for a leader, selected by the five-man-to-man method, to be assigned to preside over a group of persons who do not wish to work with him. The result would be, in all probability, relatively ineffective group action.

To make the wisest assignment of leaders (as well as to assist in their selection), the sociometric technique may be adapted for use. The part used in this experiment is as follows:

## GROUP PREFERENCE RECORD

On this sheet is a list of the names of the members of the class. Will you please indicate how you feel about working with them in a class learning group. Those you choose may be assigned to your group later. The information you give will be treated confidentially and used only for the improvement of class groups and for scientific study.

Instructions: 1. Put a figure "1" to the *left* of the name of the person who is your first choice for membership in a class learning group of which you may be a member. Continue until you have made *five choices* in order from first choice to fifth choice. Put all answers to the *left* of the names.

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Remember those you choose now may be later assigned to your class learning group.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For experimental development of this technique, see W. J. Newstetter and others, *Group Adjustment*, Cleveland, Western Reserve University, 1938. Also J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive* (Washington: Nervous and Mental Diseases Publishing Company, 1934).

First Five Choices	Names	
	***************************************	
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When this test is administered to a class (where the members are acquainted with one another), one may determine: (1) those who are most often chosen and (2) those with whom both leaders and followers would most like to work. Consequently, leaders may be assigned to work with those by whom they are chosen.

Reliability of this plan was determined by correlating the choices received on three successive administrations of the test. The results follow:

Trial	N	,
1.	15	.95
2.	35	.938
3.	34	.94

Furthermore, after the organization of groups, by using the knowledge acquired from the administration of the sociometric test, it can be administered again to determine the success of the group assignment made. Tabulation of the results of the second administration will also reveal the number of choices made within each group. It would be possible for twenty choices to be made within a group. The number of choices actually made may be divided by 20 to give a ratio which may be called an interest ratio. 10

The highest ratio of choices made to possible choices (20/20 = 1.00) indicates a relatively high degree of satisfaction in the group. Reliability coefficients of interest

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<sup>10</sup> See Moreno, op. cit.

ratios for two series of groups were computed, as follows:

Trial	N	R	•
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2.	10	_	.985

Thus, the success of leaders' assignments may be checked. Summary. This study has checked the reliability and validity of several ways of selecting leaders for discussion groups: (1) Identification by voice and appearance is suitable for the speedy, preliminary selection of leaders. (2) After groups have been formed, the leadership selection can be tested and corrected by use of the status ranking technique. (3) Later, after all the members of a class have become acquainted, selection of leaders from the whole group can be made by using the five-man-to-man technique. (4) Finally, members and leaders can be best assigned to groups where they will work well together by means of the sociometric technique. All these methods have been tested for use in forming discussion groups by the experiments described in the article.

More experimentation is needed in the technique of selecting and assigning discussion group leaders before the methods outlined in this article can be firmly established; nevertheless, it is believed that sufficient evidence has been presented to encourage, with hope of success, both practical trials and further research in identifying discussion group leaders.

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# PROFESSIONAL MIGRATORY FARM LABOR HOUSEHOLDS\*

#### CARL F. REUSS

State College of Washington

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• Following the harvests is the sole means of livelihood for many thousands of persons in the Pacific Coast states. Working a few days or even several weeks in one crop, they must travel to another when harvesting activities in the first are completed. Again and again this process is repeated, until in the course of a year many migratory farm laborers travel as many as three to five thousand or more miles, working in six to a dozen or more crops. Their movements may take them from the drought states through Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington, or solely within the confines of a single state or region.

Working in the harvests with them, but occupationally unrelated to them, are many persons who are merely casual farm laborers. Usually the latter spend the major portion of their time in and derive the major portion of their earnings from nonagricultural pursuits. Economic forces, principally unemployment in their usual occupation, generally drive them to work in the harvests.

The major human problems arising from the highly commercial, hired-labor-demanding agriculture of the Pacific Coast stem not from these people who enter only casually and temporarily into harvest work. The gravest problem is that of the effect of constant mobility upon the individuals who must follow such a life. To understand better the effect of farm labor mobility, it is desirable to know something of the individuals engaged in it. This

<sup>\*</sup> This article is published as Scientific Paper No. 411, College of Agriculture and Experiment Station, State College of Washington. Acknowledgment is made to the National Youth Administration, State College of Washington, for clerical assistance.

article presents information on this aspect of the situation.

Interviews upon which its findings are dependent were made during the year 1935-1936 in a field study in the Yakima Valley, Washington. The cases selected include 48 transient and 63 resident farm labor households, chosen because their entire employment during the year preceding the interview was in farm labor. Other reports on farm labor in the Yakima Valley have been published, but none distinguishes the professional farm laborer, migratory or resident, from the many persons found working in the harvests. This the present article sets out to do.

Main points to be covered include mobility and cash income of migratory farm labor households. Others deal with population characteristics, education, and types of crops in which the laborers work. In nearly all cases comparisons are made between migratory and resident<sup>2</sup> farm laborers.

The sample admittedly is small. All findings must be interpreted accordingly. However, only considerable differences between the present sample and the total sample from which it was taken are regarded as significant enough for comment.

The problems of professional migratory farm labor households are revealed most clearly, probably, if consideration is paid first to their annual cash earnings. For the 48 families the average cash income during the entire year preceding interview was \$254, the median \$197. Twelve

<sup>2</sup> A migratory worker, or transient, is one who has lived or worked in some place other than the Yakima Valley during the year preceding interview. A resident had lived continuously in the Valley for a year preceding interview.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Among these are: Paul H. Landis and Melvin S. Brooks, Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Washington, Rural Sociology Series in Farm Labor No. 1, Wash. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 343, 1936; Paul H. Landis, "Seasonal Agricultural Labor in the Yakima Valley," Monthly Labor Review, August, 1937, pp. 1-11; Richard Wakefield and Paul H. Landis, "Types of Migratory Farm Laborers and Their Movement into the Yakima Valley, Washington," Rural Sociology, 3:133-44, June, 1938; Paul H. Landis and Richard Wakefield, "The Annual Employment Cycle of Farm Labor Households," Wash. Agr. Exp. Sta. mimeographed paper, July, 1938; and Carl F. Reuss, Paul H. Landis, and Richard Wakefield, Migratory Farm Labor and the Hop Industry on the Pacific Coast, Wash. Agri. Sta Bul. 363, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> A migratory worker of transients.

per cent of the households earned less than \$100 cash during the year, and 69 per cent less than \$300. The highest income reported was \$659.

For the resident farm laborer households the cash income was even lower. The average was \$204, the median \$181. Twenty-five per cent of the residents reported a cash income of less than \$100 and 82 per cent less than \$300.

Where seven families in every ten, as among the migratory farm labor households, or eight in every ten, as among the resident farm laborers, have an annual cash income averaging considerably less than \$25.00 a month, standards of living inevitably must be low. Poverty is the greatest problem for farm labor households, migratory and resident alike.

Adding to the problem of poverty for the migratory families is the necessity of traveling from one crop to another, since traveling is expensive. The 48 migratory families traveled an average of 1,226 miles during the year preceding interview. Nearly all traveled in automobiles of ancient vintage. Allowing a fairly conservative 2½ cents per mile as a minimum cash cost for car operation gives an average traveling cost of nearly \$28.00, or 11 per cent of the total cash income. Thus the higher average cash income of the migrants over the residents is reduced considerably in terms of real income.

The median number of miles traveled was 1,250, the maximum 5,243. One fourth of the families traveled less than 325 miles, another one fourth over 1,700 miles during the year.

Families traveling less than 1,000 miles during the year earned an average of \$250 cash. Those traveling from 1,000 to 1,499 miles earned an average cash income of \$211, and those traveling 1,500 to 2,499 miles, \$253. Two households traveling 4,282 and 5,243 miles earned \$565 and \$558, respectively. Subtracting the estimated car costs

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based on the average mileage traveled by each group from their average cash earnings gives an income for consumption of \$242 for those traveling less than 1,000 miles, only \$183 for those traveling 1,000 to 1,499 miles, and \$209 for those traveling 1,500 to 2,499 miles. This shows that increased mileage traveled to reach jobs really decreased net family income in many cases. The families with the lowest incomes were those traveling 1,000 to 1,499 miles. These included many drought refugees who came directly to the Yakima Valley.

Since the farm labor families received such low incomes, it was quite natural for them to seek relief to finance their existence during the year. Fifty-four per cent of the transient families reported having received relief during the year preceding the interview. Ninety-one per cent of the resident families reported relief, but this high proportion is partly the result of the nature of the sample, which included WPA workers on a tree-scraping project. Nonetheless, it is extremely significant that such a high proportion of persons deriving private employment solely from farm labor were aided by relief funds. The relief program in Yakima County in effect becomes a subsidy to agriculture, raising the less than living wages paid farm laborers to a minimum subsistence level.

The tragedy for society in the low income, mobility, and high relief ratio characterizing migratory farm laborers lies in the nature of the persons involved. Seventy-five per cent of the household heads were less than 45 years of age, and only 11 per cent of all persons included in the 48 households were older than 44. Thirty per cent of the household members were less than 15 years of age.

Residents also were young. Sixty-five per cent of the heads were under 45, and only 16 per cent of all household members were over the age of 44. Thirty-seven per cent of household members were under 15. Comparison with

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the Washington rural-farm population shows the comparative youth of farm laborers, both migratory and resident. In the state farm population in 1930, 29 per cent of all persons were over 44, and an equal proportion were under 15.

It becomes very clear that migratory farm labor is a profession calling those in the prime years of life. It is equally clear that annual cash earnings for migratory farm laborers are pitifully low during the years of their lives in which they should be accumulating some security for old age. At their customary earnings they are unable to do so. Once they could ascend the agricultural ladder to the status of renter or owner. Today this is much more difficult. Indeed, many of them have slipped downward a rung or two. Their only prospect is a life of poverty until they are too old to withstand its rigors. Then, lacking financial reserves and unless supported by relatives or friends, they must become public charges.

Another problem affecting the public welfare arises from the fact that persons in these years of life have children in the formative period. Many of them, retarded in school, drop out at the first opportunity, and others are denied further schooling because stringent economic pressure demands that they work to augment the family income. As a consequence of their mode of life, the conditions to which they are exposed, and their inferior education, they easily may become warped social products.

Heads of the migratory farm labor households had fairly high educational attainments. Twenty-three per cent had less than an eighth-grade education, but nearly one half, or 47 per cent, had gone beyond the eighth grade. Eleven per cent had gone beyond high school. Resident farm labor heads were not so well educated as their migratory co-workers. Forty-four per cent had less than an eighth-grade education, and only 29 per cent had gone beyond the eighth grade.

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Measured by the normal progress the child should have made in school if he started at the age of six or seven and was promoted each year, 38 per cent of the farm labor children still attending school were retarded one or more grades. The ratio was the same for both resident and transient children. This similarity is somewhat surprising, inasmuch as frequent moving would be expected to interfere seriously with a child's educational progress. This retardation generally is the result of children's being kept out of school in order to work and help increase the family income.

For, strong is the belief among migratory farm laborers that "if the kids don't work they don't eat." Neither age nor sex is a barrier to gainful employment. Seventy-four per cent of the males and 71 per cent of the females aged ten and over, exclusive of heads, in the transient farm labor household had contributed to the family earnings during the year. Among the residents the proportions were considerably smaller, 53 and 29 per cent, respectively.

Migratory farm labor households were excessively male in composition, resident households fairly evenly balanced between the sexes. The ratio of males to 100 females among the migrants was 135.5, among the residents 102.5. Evidently a household excessively female in composition cannot economically pursue a life of migratory farm labor.

Comparatively small families are the rule among the farm laborers. Fifty-six per cent of the migratory families and 51 per cent of the resident ones consisted of two or three members. Fifteen per cent of the former and 16 per cent of the latter were made up of six or more members. In the state rural-farm population in 1930, 45 per cent of all families were of two or three members and 21 per cent of six or more members.

Migratory farm labor households had worked in an average of 3.75 types of crops during the year preceding interview, residents in 2.60 types. Since transients normally travel to places where they can expect harvesting activities to be going on, their larger number of jobs was to be expected. Evidence that they time their arrival to coincide with periods of peak labor demand is found in the fact that 65 per cent of them came into the Valley during the months of August and September, when hops and apples demand pickers. Seventeen per cent arrived during May and June, largely for haying and cherry-picking.

The importance of hops is shown in the fact that 77 per cent of the transient farm labor households had worked in the hops. Only 41 per cent of the residents were so employed. This is due largely to the fact that many transients come into the Valley primarily to pick hops or pick hops while awaiting employment in the apples, but residents are prejudiced against hop-picking because of the low

regard held in the Valley for this type of work.

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All except one of the migratory families had worked in the soft fruits. Counting soft fruits and apples together shows that both transients and residents had worked an average of 1.6 times in fruits.

In other types of activity differences again were evident. Twenty-seven per cent of the transients, compared with 33 per cent of the residents, worked at jobs called simply farm work. Transients exceeded residents in the proportions working in field crops, 67 per cent compared with 25 per cent. Twenty-three per cent of the transients reported work in connection with stock raising and 21 per cent reported berry picking. No residents reported work falling into either category.

In short, the typical professional migratory farm labor family is youthful, generally small, and excessively male in composition. Nearly three of every four of its members,

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excluding heads, over the age of nine, male or female, work for pay during the year. The head has reached the eighth grade or gone beyond in school, but two out of every five children are retarded in school.

To earn its average of \$254 cash during a year, the family travels an average of 1,226 miles. Cash car costs for traveling average, conservatively, \$28.00. Fruits and hops afford the family nearly two thirds of all its jobs, which it has held in an average of 3.75 main types of farming activity.

Poverty is the greatest problem for the migratory farm labor family. Its greatest needs are some sort of economic security for slack harvest months and for old age, and some accurate method of directing the family to work opportunities and placing it in jobs when it arrives in the area.

# THE GROUP METHOD IN TEACHING SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

## MABEL A. ELLIOTT University of Kansas

• No one needs to be told that the group method of teaching is fundamentally sound—if one can obtain full participation of every member of the group. The problem is to secure that co-operation and the interest necessary to achieve the co-operation.

For a number of years the group method has been employed by the Sociology Department at the University of Kansas in connection with the classes in Social Pathology. For two days a week the classes meet as a whole in regular lecture and discussion sections. One day a week the class is divided into small groups which meet separately to study some particular social problem.

When I "inherited" the course, the plan in effect was to ask students to select from a suggested list of topics one which they wished to study, and to divide the class into several different groups. A student chairman and secretary were appointed and under the instructor's tutelage they divided the material into separate segments, and each gathered material for his special topic. At the end of the semester a typewritten compilation of their several reports was bound in a single volume and submitted to the instructor for one third of their credit in the course.

The main problem seemed to be to choose a good chairman and secretary and to make them feel responsible for turning in a goo'd joint project. Students made reports from time to time, and in the end a fairly presentable piece of work reached the professor's desk. The students apparently enjoyed such study, the only trouble with the plan

being that the best students did most of the work. Usually this meant that an unfair burden fell upon the chairman.

After enduring one semester of this uneven sense of responsibility, I decided that some plan must be developed whereby each person would assume as much responsibility as everyone else. Clearly, it was necessary to arouse the co-operation, interest, and effort of each from the outset if there were to be any effective educational results. After considerable mental effort I developed a plan for such study which has by empirical tests proved very successful over a period of years, and I pass it on as having been a more or less foolproof scheme for enlisting enthusiastic and co-operative endeavor on the part of each student. I can see no reason why it might not work equally well in any group study project.

Keeping in mind that successful group effort depends upon co-operation, interest, continued effort, and responsible individual membership as well as effective leadership, it is obvious that everything possible should be done to insure all these factors from the outset.

At the first class session, when the general nature of the plan of the course is outlined, a few problems for study are suggested by the teacher, and the students are urged to bring additional topics to the class at the next meeting and to be prepared to vote preferentially on their first, second, and third choices. At the following class session students announce their particular interests, and the topics are written on the board. A rough survey is taken by show of hands so as to eliminate those topics in which only a very few express an interest. Students are then asked to indicate by ballot their first, second, and third choices, which, for example, might be (1) divorce, (2) housing, (3) unemployment. Another student might choose (1) mental derangement, (2) divorce, (3) juvenile delinquency, while another would select (1) divorce, (2) housing, (3) juve-

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nile delinquency. In sorting the votes it would thus be suitable to place all three in a group studying divorce; whereas those electing A. (1) unemployment, (2) mental derangement, (3) women in industry; B. (1) mental derangement, (2) juvenile delinquency, (3) divorce; and C. (1) suicide, (2) mental derangement, (3) unemployment, would all be placed in the group studying mental derangement. As it works out, there is no difficulty in arranging for groups of from 7 to 9 members on the basis of either first or second choice. Once in a while a third choice must be the basis of group assignment.

After the students are assigned to the various groups (we usually have four or five groups per class section), the time of meeting is arranged to meet the convenience of the students. Usually groups are held either at 4:30 in the afternoon or at 7:30 in the evening in the seminar rooms at the library.

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At the first two meetings of the group the instructor presides. Each member is introduced and the instructor talks informally, discussing briefly, but to the point, the importance of each member's making a significant contribution to his own and everyone's education as far as the topic chosen for study is concerned. In order to study any subject effectively, a suitable bibliography must be developed, and, since this is a co-operative project, the instructor presents to the group a plan for a co-operative bibliography. Students are asked to suggest sources. They are, of course, familiar with the card catalogue and the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. If the topic is to be public health, premedical students will be certain to suggest Index Medicus. If there are prelaw students studying mental 'derangement, they may suggest Jones' Index to Legal Periodicals. The instructor fills in the gaps and may suggest the International Index to Periodicals, The Educational Index, et cetera.

After suitable sources for bibliography are at hand, the instructor tries to divide the responsibility for the co-operative bibliography equitably. If, for example, the International Index, the Readers' Guide, and the card catalogue seem to offer appropriate source material, one student is asked to look up the available books in the card catalogue. Because there must be a workable limit to the bibliography, the periodical literature is usually limited to the last ten or fifteen years. For the topic "unemployment," for example, there will be a very large number of articles if the periodical magazine references are confined to the years 1929-1939 inclusive. If the topic is divorce, it may be suitable to cover fifteen or twenty years. In case a group is studying unemployment, it might be suitable to divide the material from the Readers' Guide during a tenyear period among three students; and to divide similarly the material in the International Index among three others. Another student, at the instructor's suggestion, may compile material from the catalogue of governmental pamphlets. The bibliographical assignments for any group run something like this:

Student 1—Readers' Guide, 1929-1932; Student 2—Readers' Guide, 1933-1935; Student 3—Readers' Guide, 1936-1939; Student 4—International Index, 1929-1932; Student 5—International Index, 1933-1935; Student 6—International Index, 1936-1939; Student 7—Card Catalogue; Student 8—Special bibliography from governmental pamphlets.

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In preparing this joint bibliography each student is asked to secure regulation 2 x 5 cards and to put one reference on each card in "good bibliographical form," viz., either (1) author, name of book (italicized or underlined), publisher, place, and date; or (2) author, article (in quotation marks), magazine (italicized or underlined), volume, pages, and date. The students are advised

not to worry about duplicates, since it will be easier to eliminate them than to attempt to avoid them in the different indices.

By covering all the bibliography in these various indices, every student becomes familiar with the various topics relating to the larger problem which will form the basis for dividing the subject among the members. He is thus working for everyone, including himself. Equally important, he is learning how to build up a good bibliography and where to go for source material-which is an educational achievement in itself. No student can go out of this class without knowing how to attack the problem of locating material.

Because this task of gathering bibliography is a burdensome one, it usually is best to get it over as quickly as possible. The students are asked to bring their bibliographies to the next meeting, where they will be sorted into suitable subtopics for their individual projects. At this meeting students are asked to suggest suitable subclassifications which have occurred in the compilation of the bibliography. These are placed on a blackboard, and students are asked, as far as possible, to choose the subtopics they prefer to study. Occasionally it will be necessary to arrange one or two subtopics under a subsuming heading or make one person responsible for two related topics, but some equitable division is always possible.

After the topics are thus arranged, the cards are sorted accordingly. All other cards which do not fit these subdivisions are assigned to a general bibliography on the subject. From this the instructor selects books or magazine articles with which each member should familiarize himself, and all other general cards are kept in the faculty member's office for the students' reference. In case any topic seems to be lacking sufficient reference material, the instructor makes further suggestions as to suitable sources of bibliography.

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After the cards are sorted, a logical arrangement for the presentation of reports is worked out. Each student understands that he is to devote a regular period of study each week to his topic and will be responsible generally for two reports. Such reports are from thirty-five to forty minutes in length, with ten or fifteen minutes reserved for discussion in which each member of the group is expected to participate, either by raising some question or making some addition to the material presented.

These reports require a considerable amount of thought and time in preparation. For this reason some one is ordinarily asked to volunteer for the first report, which is generally in the nature of a review of some book of significant general interest. For example, in the group studying mental derangement, Clifford W. Beers' text, The Mind That Found Itself, might be reviewed. Someone who can give some extra time during the first week will undoubtedly be best able to give the report. The following week regular reports begin, which consist of an organized report from a variety of references. Naturally each student usually makes a special effort to give extra time to his project during the week in which he presents his material.

In developing the morale for the group project, this building of a co-operative bibliography is, in my estimation, a splendid device for creating an *esprit de corps*. Each becomes familiar enough with what others are studying to keep their topics in mind, and students are urged to call to one another's attention material which they run across in connection with their own reading. It is surprising how much each discovers incidentally.

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On the other hand, since each member of the group must depend upon his fellow students for his insight into certain of the subtopics, students are quick to recognize their own important relationship in contributing to one another's education. The instructor suggests at the outset that the reports must be uniformly good and that, since each resents being bored, he must be certain he himself gives a good report in return.

By this time the students have come to know one another, and natural group leadership is apparent. At the third meeting the group chooses a chairman who is to preside at the meetings, announce the topics, and keep individual members apprised of the dates of their reports (which are also posted on the departmental bulletin boards). A secretary is also elected, who keeps a brief record of the material covered for each meeting and a record of attendance. The completed group projects of previous classes are brought to class for their suggestive value as to what is expected in the finished report.

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Once the group projects have been well started, the instructor takes part in the discussion of the reports but tries to keep in the background as much as possible. Students are urged to raise questions at any point. Occasionally the instructor is purposely absent, in order to give the students a greater sense of freedom in their discussions and "debates" on issues. Often faculty folk forget how they inhibit students by their presence. It has been my delight to drop in late to the group meetings and find a high-powered conflict of ideas in progress.

Students with an excellent psychological background may make really notable additions to the discussion on the personal factors in mental derangement, for example. At any rate, the interest, once aroused, seems to hold. Even students whose class work may not rise above mediocrity often make an outstanding contribution to such groups. This may be partially explained by group pressure. The desire to compare favorably with his fellow students is undoubtedly one factor. I am convinced, however, that developing a group esprit de corps and capturing the student's interest and enthusiasm by a plan which necessi-

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tates his immediate co-operation are basic to the success of the plan. In fact, I have been so pleased with the results that my only regret is that we cannot use the plan in all of our courses. The only drawback is that it inevitably takes a sizable amount of the instructor's time to get students to educate themselves. It is so much easier to lecture, but a student retains much better what he searches out for himself. Some of the finished, bound, and typewritten reports would do credit to a graduate student. And after all, this is only a graduate method of teaching transferred to an undergraduate level. The student is treated as an intelligent, interested individual and he responds accordingly.

### PUBLIC HOUSING IN OMAHA

#### ITS SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

## T. EARL SULLENGER and LAURA HEACOCK University of Omaha

• Prior to the industrial age shelter was provided by the individual, and its comforts and social adequacy depended upon the initiative, energy, and thrift of the individual concerned. To him alone belonged the responsibility of providing the best that the environment afforded. The development of industry with its concentration of people in compact areas, its profound change in the habits and customs of the people, its environment often lacking in materials, sites, and conditions for socially adequate housing, changed the concept of housing to that of a place of shelter close to one's work. This was closely associated with increase in urbanization. Younger cities had no housing problem, but in time areas of transition adjacent to the industrial areas developed and people began to become housing conscious.

Omaha is a young city located at the crossroads of the Middle West. The industrialization and urbanization of its inhabitants have slowly brought its civic and socially minded citizens to the realization of its needs in the realms of housing. In other words, it has now become housing conscious. The federal housing program utilized this consciousness, which resulted in Omaha's being one of the first 51 cities chosen for a federal housing project. The procedure so far as the social side was concerned was anything but logical. The project was completed and ready for occupancy before any social study was made.

This article has to do largely with this social study which we have recently completed. It is an analysis of the "blighted area" before the project was undertaken, the distribution of the old occupants, and an analysis of the present approved tenants in the 286 units. Detail analysis is not given in this discussion, since much of the data is commonplace, but emphasis is placed on the most impor-

tant aspects of the findings.

Of the houses demolished in the area now occupied by the project, 59 per cent were occupied by their owners. These were old but well kept. The yards had nice lawns, shrubbery, and flowers. Most of them had a vegetable garden to the side or rear. On all sides of these home-owned properties were houses for rent. Very few of these were either painted or in good repair. The general appearance was one of abuse and neglect. Nearly 40 per cent of the area's inhabitants were not the type to take an interest in improving the life and conditions of the community. Fifteen thousand dollars of taxes were delinquent and had been for a number of years.

The former residents of the area were using a few of the utilities. Only 29 were using telephones, 143 electricity, 177 water, and 44 gas. The distribution of these uses in the area of the housing project was computed, showing the following increases: telephone 4.6 per cent; electricity, water, and gas more than doubled. The occupations of the former residents showed a preponderance of unskilled laborers and small business operators, while the occupants of the new units show a high percentage of clerks, salesmen, waiters, porters, skilled laborers, and truck drivers. The charitable health service records showed that there was a decrease of over one half when the new occupants moved in. Tuberculosis ranked high under the former conditions but is now practically negligible. Direct relief obviously dropped from a high figure to none, as the new residents must be self-supporting. The police records show almost a complete drop; however, a few drunks,

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reckless driving, and disturbing the peace are noted. Fire calls have practically ceased, while formerly the old houses were all firetraps. We can readily see that the expensive area has been changed to one that costs the city very little to service and protect.

The physical changes are more obvious and easier to measure. We are especially concerned with what happened to the former occupants. The new occupants of the area have to reach and maintain a high economic and social standard in order to qualify. That naturally reduces to a minimum the neighborhood problems along all lines. But has the project really served the people who formerly lived in this area? First of all, we found that 59 per cent of the home owners were given a chance to get fair prices for their properties, which had no marketable value under the circumstances. They took the cash and went to various parts of the city and purchased homes in line with their economic standing. The other 41 per cent comprise the group with which we are most concerned. The argument frequently arises as to the number of these families that were aided. Do they come back and occupy the new houses in this old neighborhood? We found that of the total of 152 families living in this area before the project, 38 or 25 per cent moved into a slightly less disintegrated area just north of the project. Twenty-four or 15.8 per cent moved west where the conditions are somewhat better, fifteen or 9.9 per cent moved into very poor houses on the east side, and seven or 4.4 per cent just south. Twenty-two families or 14.4 per cent moved to poor neighborhoods in adjoining school districts, seven or 4.4 per cent to districts in other sections of Omaha, and five or 3.4 per cent moved outside the city. There were 34 families unaccounted for. With all of this settling into various sections of the city, only one family who formerly lived in the area was accepted for occupancy in the new units now located in the old home area. About half the former occupants are now residing in low-rent areas within a few yards of the new units. The remainder, except the one lucky enough to get back "home," are distributed in areas several blocks away. These are, in general, the former home owners.

The values of such a public housing plan are obvious from a physical standpoint, but the social aids are less tangible. On the whole, according to our findings, the mass of the former occupants are bettered very little if any by the move. Their economic status has not been raised nor are their desires placed on any higher level. It is merely a transfer.

The advantages are justifiable, but these are confined mainly to the area geographically and less to the former occupants. In other words, the social benefits were confined largely to individual families selected from all walks of life and from all sections of the city. Public housing has just begun. How much further it will go no one knows as yet. Omaha has recently started another project in the southern section of the city. It will be interesting to the sociology student to watch its function and development. After all, we are led by the result of this research to find that the benefits of public housing in slum clearance can not be evaluated in terms of the direct aid to the former occupants of the area but must be limited more to the physical and ethical values to the city as a whole. There is definite need for more research along this line. Much pseudo research has been associated with such movements. All private and governmental planning should be preceded by scientific social research. Unsound ideologies mislead the public.

# THE SECOND-GENERATION RACE RELATIONS CYCLE

### A Study in Issei-Nisei Relationships

ROBERT H. ROSS and EMORY S. BOGARDUS

The University of Southern California

• The "race relations cycle" deals with the changes occurring between immigrants and natives in the course of years. It appears in its most pronounced form (1) when the incoming immigrants belong to a race that is markedly different in culture patterns from the natives, and (2) when the invaders immigrate in large numbers. It appears in two sequences occurring simultaneously. In the first series, the usual sequence of attitudes on the part of the natives toward the newcomers appears as follows: (a) curiosity, (b) economic welcome, (c) labor group antagonism, (d) social and neighborhood disapproval, (e) adverse legislative action, and (f) segregation of the immigrants.<sup>1</sup>

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At the same time another sequence of the race relations cycle represents the reactions of other natives. As the first-mentioned cycle in the main describes the results of increasing antagonism, the second type of cycle depicts friendliness. The first is dual (native versus immigrant) in nature; the second is largely mutual (native and immigrant working together). Its stages are: (a) curiosity, (b) native personal approval, (c) mutual accommodation, (d) mutual assimilation, (e) mutual acculturation, and (f) mutual amalgamation.

A third type of cycle, the second-generation race relations cycle, which is presented in this article, refers to the changing attitudes of the second generation toward their immigrant parents. This cycle takes place within an immi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. S. Bogardus, "A Race-Relation Cycle," American Journal of Sociology, 35:612-17.

grant race and the children, while of the first and second types each involves at least two races, an immigrant race and a native race. The cycle is most evident where the parents belong to a race decidedly different in culture from that of the natives of the region. The data for this study were secured by the first-mentioned author<sup>2</sup> of this article from a study of first- and second-generation Japanese in southern California.

The first stage in this third type of cycle begins, for example, in the Japanese home with the birth of each child. Social nearness of parent to child and of child to parent is characteristic. The situation is similar to that in the homes of any race. In fact, because the immigrant parents are different from the natives, they may experience a great deal of race prejudice, and hence the nearness between them and their children is greater than normal.

The second stage in the second-generation race relations cycle originates when the child is from twelve to fourteen years old and when he begins to associate in a wide variety of ways with his white American schoolmates and friends. Then we can see a change taking place which is responsible for an ever-widening distance between parent and child. It is practically impossible for the early social nearness that was formed in childhood to be dissolved, however, but we do see a pulling away from parental influences which lasts for several years at the least. During the time that the nisei (second generation) youth are attending school, it is possible to see the beginning of the breach between them and their parents. In the main this increase in farness is due to differences between Japanese culture and the American culture patterns that the nisei adopt. In spite of this increase of social farness within the family group, there is less distance in the Japanese first generation-second generation relationship than there is in the homes of most non-Oriental immigrant groups.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Now teaching in Japan.

After all, Japanese children live under parental care and are influenced by their elders to a surprising degree considering the fact that cultural differences between them and their parents causing social farness do actually exist.

Then, the second generation enters into the third stage of their race relations cycle with their parents. During the years the nisei are in school mingling with other Americans, they become interested fundamentally in being typically American. The nisei find, however, that as they move upward in their teens this feeling of intimacy between them and their fellow students grows less, and social barriers are raised against them by the white group. Then they grow closer to their parents from necessity more than from desire. In school they are not for years so conscious of the discriminatory attitude, at the hands of their fellow students, as they are during later school and the postschool days, when they attempt to enter the competitive vocational world. During the next few years there is an increase in the gap between them and white Americans and, on the other hand, a decrease in social distance between them and their parents. The nisei are often disillusioned and are said to develop "inferiority complexes," a quite natural result. Social nearness is evident then in the home once more. So we see that as the nisei reach the marriage age there has developed within them a feeling of understanding and regard for their parents. They may not agree with the parents on many points, but they are willing to compromise, or at least to listen to their wishes. They are less likely to stride off by their own strong wills to do as they please. They are more willing tactfully to heed the advice and suggestion of their mothers and fathers.

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A fourth stage in the second-generation race relations cycle may develop depending on whether or not the nisei go to Japan for a visit. It may be that by going to Japan for a few years' visit after they have completed their schooling here in America the nisei return to their parents in the

United States with a feeling of greater nearness. Those who hold this point of view state that the nisei who have been in Japan report that they are able to enjoy some comforts which they had never enjoyed in America: the comfort of being among a racially similar people, a new life, opportunities for starting on a career on a basis of equality, fuller enjoyment of cosmopolitan life, greater number of friends, greater feeling of peace and comfort without discrimination. In this way they learn to understand their parents' culture.

The attitude of those who feel that a trip to Japan creates more social nearness in the *issei-nisei* relationship is expressed very well in the following quotation taken from an interview with a young Japan-born student at The Uni-

versity of Southern California:

The majority of cases seem to show that the larger group of second generation who are sent to Japan by their parents to familiarize themselves with Japanese culture come back after about two years with a feeling of respect and understanding of their forefathers and ancestors. Most of the nisei said they liked Japan but would not like to stay there. They find, however, a nearness which they could not find over here. Going back or going to Japan for the first time, as a general rule, helps to build up nearness. In Japan they feel no repression and feel at ease. They are on an even footing, physically, and are free to move about as they please. Japan is a man's country so the boys like it better in Japan than do the second generation girls. The girls notice the social differences that exist more than do the boys.

However, there are those who contend that a trip to Japan develops greater farness within the immigrant home, because the nisei who go to Japan are restricted there in their freedom, there they have no democratic life, they find a lower standard of living, they meet narrow-minded people, the lack of a sanitary sewage system is apparent, there is too much discrimination, and the attitude on the part of the Japanese of looking down upon the second generation of American-born Japanese is exten-

sive. Hence, they return to the United States, feeling less respect for their parents' customs and traditions than before they went.

The thought of this group is well expressed in the following quotation by another student:

The attitude of the first generation is to send their children with a blind attitude of hoping to help them adjust themselves but in reality they tend to go to have a good time. This is easy because of the lack of supervision and because the American dollar goes a long way in Japan. The parents seem to think that just by going to Japan that the children will gain a lot. The second generation of high school age find upon going to Japan that society there is typically Japanese. They don't try to adjust themselves when in Japan. They think they are doing as they should but they really are not. The older Japanese in Japan know right away that the former are American-born. They feel that since these visitors look like Japanese they should try to act like Japanese. The second generation come back to the United States and say that the older Japanese folk are funny and queer. This builds up a feeling of social farness.

There has been, up until recent years, a so-called "old idea" which was that the second generation was sent to Japan to earn money and to get a firm financial foundation there, after which the parents and family would go back to spend the remainder of their lives in their native land. The "new idea" is that the second generation should stay in the United States and take up the father's occupation and continue the present business and not return to Japan. The parents would in this case stay here also and die in this country. At one time the second-generation sons were sent back early in their lives, perhaps at the age of seven, to be educated in Japan, but now there is a definite movement to send the young boys and sometimes the girls after they have finished their schooling here, just for a visit to the native country of their parents. Those who were sent at an early age are being recalled and present a somewhat different and difficult problem, for they are sadly lacking in language ability as far as English is concerned.

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The nisei who have remained in Japan for several years of schooling are not helping themselves to fit into American life. It is true that they will be better able to enter Japanese firms, either in America or in Japan, as a result of their training in Japanese schools, but for a future in American institutions the benefit is doubtful. Many of the nisei who have gone to Japan are eager to express their strong conviction that the so-called Japanese spirit would greatly benefit their fellow nisei who are in the United States. They feel that it is their duty to return to America and devote themselves to the purpose of sharing with their fellows the great spiritual gift which they have discovered in Japan. It is claimed that this spirit is purely of ethical value and is not a nationalistic ideology. The truth of this is not known for certain, but it seems that the spirit of Japan is a nationalistic one and its particular benefit to American society is deemed rather doubtful. No doubt those nisei who acquire this unique spirit of Japan are much closer to their parents as a result of their visit to Japan.

It may be added that ninety-four of the nisei who replied to questionnaires felt that the nisei were closer to their parents after a trip of about two years to Japan; thirty-nine thought they were farther away from their parents on their return. Although eleven of the issei, or first generation, did not reply to this question, there was none who thought that such a trip would not bring the nisei closer to their parents through such a trip. All felt such a trip would establish more rapport in the immigrant Japanese home.

The second-generation race relations cycle thus has three definite stages and a possible fourth one. The first stage, that of nearness, is marked, and is due to relationships growing out of the parents' culture patterns and na-

tional philosophy. The second, one of a developing far-

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has irst onnaarness, is due to the acquisition by the children of American culture patterns. The third, of a returning nearness, takes place because of rebuffs that the youth receive at the hands of thoughtless or narrow-minded and prejudiced Americans. The fourth, one of greater nearness, in the majority of cases depends upon a trip by the second generation to their parents' homeland and the resultant experiences there.

### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

Professor D. Gusti, President of the 14th International Congress of Sociology, urges American sociologists to participate as actively as possible in the Congress. If they can not attend it personally, he asks them to send their papers to be read at the Congress and to be published in the volume of the *Proceedings* of the Congress. He indicates that so far the number of American papers is much smaller than that from European countries. Meanwhile, for the Congress, more active participation of the American sociologists is very important. The last day for receipt of the papers is March 31. The papers should be addressed to Professor D. Gusti, 6 Piata Romana, Palatul Academiei Comerciale, Bucharest III, Roumania.

### PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The eleventh annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society was held jointly with the Pacific Coast Economic Association at the State College of Washington (Pullman) and the University of Idaho (Moscow), December 27-29, 1939. Glenn E. Hoover, Mills College, in his presidential address entitled "The Role of Intelligence in Human Affairs," expressed doubt whether education would ever increase the intellectual powers of men and suggested that such powers might even decline if the differential birth rate persisted. He suggested that more intelligent social programs could be executed only by the adoption of a more intelligent method of selecting governmental officials. The power and influence of government have been extended, but little attention has been given to the structure. The council-manager form of municipal government exemplifies the more indirect method of choosing the executive. This new type of government abandons the principle of separation of powers and direct election of the executive, which principles still rule in our federal and state governments.

The radio and news, two important media of mass communication, were discussed in the first meeting of the society. The radio is the child prodigy of human invention and commercial genius, and is one of the great miracles of the ages, declared Martin H. Neumeyer in discussing the institutional aspects of the radio. While the radio may not possess all the characteristics of an institution, it is an agency of communication and has far-reaching, though not as yet measured, social influence. After evaluating the various methods of research which have been used to study the radio, the discussion centered on the contributions which may be made by social scientists in extending our knowledge of this new evolving social institution. News is a medium of communication, acquainting readers with the events of their transperceptual environment, according to Carl F. Reuss of the State College of Washington. It is an evidence of social change, at once the product of a complex transitional society, an element stimulating social change, and a factor welding a number of spatially separated groups into one complex society. News is a social process involving a news event, a transmission medium, and a news recipient. Timeliness, significance, and interest are the three qualities essential to news.

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Samuel H. Jameson of the University of Oregon traced certain psychological processes in the life history of welfare agencies. A social agency tends to pass through a life cycle, beginning with the organizational stage

which is marked by the definition of purpose growing out of a sense of need. This is followed by a functional striving for status. The organization must be maintained by community support, which sometimes represents a struggle for life. The final stage may be designated as societal becoming, the agency having become integrated with the community at large.

The political movements of the state of Minnesota were traced by Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington. While the Republicans had 31 of 41 terms of the governorship of the state, the agrarian movement was an outstanding example of a political upheaval, which was in turn closely associated with economic conditions. But the Farmer Labor party suffered a reversal in 1938, receiving only 35 per cent of the votes of the state as contrasted with 60.7 per cent in the 1936 election.

Social theory was given consideration in two papers. John M. Foskett, University of Idaho, presented a critical analysis of Emile Durkheim's contributions to the problem of social control, or, of the social order. One cannot understand Durkheim's concepts of collective representation or group conscience (translated by some as group consciousness) without considering the thinking behind these ideas, particularly his criticism of intellectualistic utilitarianism which forced him to an extreme position. Elton Guthrie, University of Washington, indicated the democratic ideologies in the sociology of Ward and Cooley. While these men differed greatly in their main emphasis, both stressed aspects of American ideology and took the environmentalistic viewpoint.

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The sociology of war is of particular interest to students of modern society, according to George M. Day, Occidental College, who surveyed the recent trends in Europe, the suppression of freedom and the wanton infringement of the sovereignty of smaller countries. The periodic occurrence of war brings to the fore the great problem of international control. Propaganda seems to be increasingly used as a means of social control. Warfare has increased during the twentieth century, and modern war is characterized by greater killing power, greater mechanization, and more incessant struggle while it lasts.

The low registration of potential voters, the absence of a nisei block, and the conservative attitude are the three most important voting characteristics of the American-born Japanese, so stated Forest La Violette of the University of Washington. Though citizenship rights have been extended to this group, the privilege is frequently not exercised, sometimes because of discrimination against them. William C. Smith, Linfield College, presented a survey of the Mennonites of Yamhill County. The history of the group, its behavior codes and characteristics, and the vitality of the church as a close-knit, socioreligious organization explain in a large measure the continuity of the Mennonite communities.

Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington, discussed the conditions of the migratory laborers in the Yakima Valley. The casual workers, individual travelers (hobos), and the migratory families, rather than the hired men and resident workers, constitute the migratory farm-labor problem. The employment of hired help in this valley ranges from only a few workers during most of the year to as many as 35,000 in September, which is the peak apple- and hop-picking season. A large portion of the migrants have only one or two weeks of work a year.

A method of measuring the deterrent effects of capital punishment was set up by R. H. Dann of the Oregon State College. Using 21 executions in selected urban areas of the Pacific coast states as centers of measurement, the study thus far shows that 160 homicides were committed during the 60 days preceding the executions and 168 homicides occurred in the 60-day period following executions, which shows a slight skewness but not enough to prove the deterrent effect of this method of punishment.

The Jews in Detroit are engaged largely in trade, rather than in manufacturing, which is the dominant occupation in the area, stated Henry Meyer of the State College of Washington. The occupational index of those engaged in trade is 280, as over against the expectancy of 100, while the index of those engaged in manufacturing industries is only 26. From the standpoint of social status in the Jewish community, as well as income, the professional and trade occupations rank higher than clerical and wage-earning pursuits.

The meetings were concluded by a discussion of the teaching of sociology in the secondary schools, led by Duane Robinson of Whitworth College, who stated that the main functions of social scientists in a democratic society are (1) the discovery of knowledge and (2) the diffusion of this information. But his study of the school in Washington shows that only a small percentage of those teaching the social science subjects in high schools have had special training in the respective fields.

The officers for the ensuing year are: president, Martin H. Neumeyer; vice-presidents, R. H. Dann (Northern Division), J. V. Berryman (Central Division), Glen E. Carlson (Southern Division); secretary-treasurer, Paul H. Landis. Glenn E. Hoover and William C. Smith were elected as the two new members of the Advisory Council. The Publications Committee consists of Calvin F. Schmid, chairman, Carl E. Dent, Elon H. Moore, Charles N. Reynolds, and Martin H. Neumeyer.

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### RACES AND CULTURE

ALONG THE INDIAN ROAD. By E. STANLEY JONES. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1939, pp. 248.

The author, writing from the Sat Tal Ashram up against the Himalayas in India, finds in India "the world's most beautiful spirituality alongside of a materiality that has turned sacred places into systems of organized loot." The genius of Hinduism is seen in "its all-inclusiveness. Nothing is rejected. Everything finds a place in its ample fold." The Indian people hold "the greatest possibility of being the source of a world spiritual renewal by any people on earth." Indifferentism, or a way of wrapping one's cloak about one's self and letting life go past, is India's central problem. Five revolutions are going on at once in India today: namely, intellectual, social, political, economic, and moral and spiritual. Gandhi's place in "the remaking of history is deathless." His contribution will be found in the fact that he discovered or rediscovered the moral equivalent of war, "the method of taking suffering instead of giving it."

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Many readers will find the chapter on "The Ashram Movement" the most interesting. The Ashram is an institution for spiritual quest by small groups of earnest and honest individuals. One technique will illustrate others. The members do not hold "any mental criticism of each other without bringing it to the one concerned." This procedure results in a fellowship that is "free, relaxed, and real." Westerners and Indians never divide up in opposing camps. The division occurs on the basis of conservatism and radicalism. One day out of every seven at the Ashram is a day of complete silence; it gives one "an immense sense of relief," for on that day no one raises a question, and on that day "our souls are our own." "Brother Stanley," as the author is known in the Ashram, reports two ways to be rich, namely, (1) in abundance of possessions and (2) in fewness of wants. The social viewpoint is considered an essential of a spiritual religion. The book is full of concrete illustrative materials and develops many points further than has been done in the preceding expositions by the same author. Q.D.L.

THE RECONQUEST OF MEXICO. The Years of Lazaro Cardenas. By NATHANIEL and SYLVIA WEYL. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 394.

In the first place, this book is a social and economic history of Mexico during the last twenty years with emphasis on the last half dozen years. As such it is a vivid picture of the "revolution" which began about 1810

in Mexico and which is now more or less at its height. In the second place, the authors give a stirring picture of the present able leader of Mexico. One may not agree with him in all particulars, but one cannot help seeing that he is a man of ability and strength, and possessed of certain ideas regarding the welfare of the Mexican people. The well-nigh insuperable difficulties which he faces in his attempt to substitute one type of social and economic system for another by as evolutionary means as possible are well described. His strong and weak points of personality are effectively presented. He is seen as a man of tremendous physical energy, of marked intelligence, of determination "to get out around" and see the people of his country in all their various and sundry forms of life. As early as 1913, when yet a youth, he wrote: "In the social struggle for life, more men go under because of defective social organization, functioning stupidly rather than perversely, than as a result of poverty." There is no question but that he prefers human to property rights and that his primary concern is not with the pecuniary interests of foreign oil, power, and mining corporations. His chief efforts are directed toward endowing "the submerged and disinherited portion of the nation with opportunity, economic security, and eventual abundance."

The authors fall into a common error of using such terms as "collective," "socialist," and "communal" somewhat interchangeably. To these terms they add "co-operatives" without pointing out the vital differences between these concepts. However, this is a minor point in comparison with the far-reaching and sympathetic disentangling of a complicated and rapidly changing socionational pattern.

E.S.B.

## SON OF OLD MAN HAT. A Navaho Autobiography. As recorded by WALTER DYK. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939, pp. xiv+378.

In simple, frank, and beautiful language, the Son of Old Man Hat relates, with the assistance of Walter Dyk, his story from childhood to maturity. His childhood experiences and impressions, his early sexual awakening, his physical and mental growth, his education in tribal folklore and ceremony, his concern for his flocks of sheep and his horses, all this and more are unfolded naturally. It is more than the story of an individual, however. It is a remarkable glimpse of the culture of the Navahos, their struggle for existence in a difficult environment, their religious beliefs and superstitions, their medical practices, their attitudes toward marriage and separation or divorce, the obligations of families and individuals, and so on. It reads like a novel but is a real autobiography.

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REBUILDING PALESTINE. By BEN M. EDIDIN. New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939, pp. xiii+264.

The author is an American who speaks with authority because of his years as "supervisor and principal of schools in Tel Aviv." His book commands attention because of its intimate descriptions of the leading phases of the recent Jewish migration to and development in Palestine. It is written for educational purposes so that Jewish youth in the United States may become interested in the Zionist movement. About sixty-five photographic illustrations of life among Jews in Palestine add greatly to the interest engendered by the historical description and the presentation of current trends and problems.

While English control is given some credit, yet the English are blamed for not protecting the Jews adequately against the Arabs. No mention is made of the McMahon-Hussein agreement of 1915, whe eby in return for Arab aid in ousting the Turks from Palestine the Arabs were promised support by Britain in their plans for establishing an independent Arab empire presumably to include Palestine. Great chagrin is naturally expressed regarding the present ten-year plan, whereby Palestine is to become an independent state in ten years with the Jews definitely to remain a minority, with immigration of Jews to be limited to 15,000 a year for five years and after that to be determined by the Arab majority, and with a drastic curtailment of the sale of land to Jews. The author sees Hitler and Mussolini as the real enemies of the Jews in Palestine. He believes that the best plan for the Jews is to cultivate the friendship of the Arab leaders.

#### INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND MODERN CULTURE. By Paul Brunton. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1939, pp. 92.

The author develops two propositions. In the first place, he contends that there is "a cultural oneness of mankind," and "one universal substance which forms the basis of our entire material universe." In support of his contention he quotes from the Upanishads and from English writers such as Tennyson and Carlyle. A similarity of monistic thought apparently exists in these two sets of quotations. The second proposition is that "all that we know of the world is nothing more or less than a series of ideas held in our consciousness." The quotations are again from the Upanishads; and, for the West, from Berkeley, Emerson, Russell, James Jeans. The argument is clearly stated. But other quotations could possibly be found showing fundamental differences between Indian and Western thought at these same two points.

CONGRES INTERNATIONAL DE LA POPULATION, PARIS, 1937. Vol.

I. Theorie Generale de la Population, pp. 270; Vol. II. Demographie Historique, pp. 105; Vol. III. Demographie Statistique. Etudes d'Ensemble, pp. 155; Vol. VI. Demographie de la France d'Outremer, pp. 128. Published by HERMANN ET CIE, Editeurs, 6, Rue de la Sorbonne, Paris, France, 1938.

These are four out of a total of eight bulletins planned for publication by the Congres International de la Population of Paris, 1937. The first volume deals with general theories of population, population curves, statistical and other methodology in the analysis of population data. Volume two contains articles in historical demography, with as wide a range as ancient Egypt, the early Roman Empire, the law of marriage in the time of Augustus, the French in Canada, John Graunt as the father of demography, and the servile classes in Oceania. The third volume is also an ensemble of articles which are statistical and demographic studies concerning racial elements in many and varied regions of the world. Volume six deals with the demography of the foreign possessions and colonies of France. The articles are written, for the most part, in French, but a number of them are in German and English. The entire series brings together the products of intensive research on the part of well-known students of population problems in several countries. The findings of the Congres of 1937 are important and essential for a survey of population at the present time, for an indication of trends, and also for methodology.

I.E.N.

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## AN OBSERVER IN PALESTINE. By WINIFRED LOWE Fox. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1939, pp. 253.

Mrs. Fox is an exceptionally fine observer. First, she visited Palestine with an intimate acquaintance with both New and Old Testament history. Second, she was interested in what is going on in Palestine today among the Arabs and the Jews. Third, she has an eye for details. Fourth, she is sensitive to those phases of Palestinian life and social change which are awry and unsettled. Fifth, she has a flair for anecdotal description. To read her book is to visit both the main places and the out-of-the-way spots of note; it is to take a worth-while course in Biblical history as well as to tour the Holy Land. Nineteen excellent photographic illustrations add to the value of the book. If a map of Palestine today had been included and additional space had been given to the recent Jewish immigration and to the resulting three-cornered conflict among Arab, Jew, and British, a significant book would have been made more significant, but perhaps the author definitely chose not to enter a highly controversial field. Q.D.L.

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THE LOG BOOK OF A YOUNG IMMIGRANT. By Laurence M. Larson. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1939, pp. x+318.

This Log Book is in a sense an autobiography, but the author modestly deals with Norwegian and American episodes, leaders, events, and culture, so that his personal experiences and achievements appear almost incidentally. The book is thus a contribution to American cultural history, in which he has been interested for many years. Professor Larson, the author, was born in Norway, his family possessing a landed estate and good social position; however, he and others of his family emigrated to the United States. He recounts the pioneer life they shared on the Iowa prairies, the adjustments required in the New World, and the everchanging social life in which he grew to manhood. Owing to his own prominence as an educator and writer, the story of his attendance at Drake University and at Wisconsin, with comments about teachers, methods, and so on, is of particular interest. Since the Log Book stops with the year 1907, it does not deal with his years as a college professor and writer of note. We trust the story will be continued and find its welcome, with the present volume, in American cultural history.

J.E.N.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. Fourth Revised Edition. By BENJAMIN BRAWLEY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. xv+288.

Twenty-five years have passed since the first edition of this book appeared, and many developments have occurred meantime in the affairs of the Negro in our country. These are taken cognizance of in the latest revision. The Negro is considered in terms of his colonial and revolutionary experiences, his slavery experience, his emancipation, his enfranchisement and disenfranchisement, his educational, economic, and social progress, and his contributions to American literature, art, and life in general. Necessarily abbreviated, the treatise is clear cut, impartial, well balanced. The value of the book is enhanced by "Questions for Review," by a "Selected Bibliography," and particularly by excellent full-page pictures of Negro leaders such as Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, George Washington Carver, Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, and Marian Anderson. The author pleads for fair play for all who are devoted to the general welfare without regard to race or class or creed. His spirit is indicated in the dedication to "the young Americans with whom it has been my privilege in the classroom to seek the beautiful and the true." Q.D.L.

WE WHO BUILT AMERICA. The Saga of the Immigrant. By CARL WITTER. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939, pp. xviii+547.

Descriptive, historical, well-documented are the adjectives that best reflect the nature of this volume. Although the author does not claim to be making a sociological analysis, he nevertheless furnishes countless social facts. He catches some of the larger meanings of the migration movement and presents them under "colonial," "old immigration," and "new immigration" headings. The English and the Negro were not included, partly because "our American civilization is basically Anglo-Saxon," and partly because "an adequate and steadily expanding literature is already available" regarding the Negro.

In the Colonial days the non-English immigrants contributed little to the political institutions of our land, but they did make social, economic, and cultural contributions of note. While in the next period the "old immigration" was probably not as inventive or as daring as the Yankees, yet it may have been superior in "high-grade, dependable and thorough craftsmanship." These peoples possessed "the plain, homely virtues of perseverance, industry, patience, and thrift." The story of the "new immigration" ends in the anticlimax of "closing the gates." The migration movement is ended. The book needs another chapter or two, one to indicate the contributions of the recent immigrants and a second to sum up the whole migration movement beginning with Colonial days.

E.S.B.

SOUTH AFRICA. A planned tour of the country today, describing its towns, its scenic beauties, its wild and its historic places, and telling of the men who made or discovered them. By A. W. Wells. Philadelphia: David McKay Company, 1939, pp. xv+432.

This book is more than an ordinary guidebook, for it gives historical data and artistic sketches. The thirty-two pages of colored maps and thirty photogravure illustrations and reference sections add distinct value. While more materials regarding the peoples who live in South Africa would be highly desirable, the book helps the reader to be greatly interested in a land that is to most Americans a faraway part of the world. Historic events and material developments are important to the traveler but not so significant as the peoples, their struggles to achieve their longings, and their problems. A greater place may well be given in books of this type to a description of the culture patterns of peoples and to the important changes that are taking place in these patterns. In this way the traveler will be able to enter at once into the life of the people whom he visits instead of remaining as an outsider, amused at the "curious ways of the natives."

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WHEN THERE IS NO PEACE. By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. 236.

The author, who is editor of Foreign Affairs and who has been fortunate in his access to the data for this volume, skillfully recounts the steps of the Czech-German crisis, culminating in the Munich dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. Europeans generally are shown as loath to embark on war, and all alike are joyfully relieved at any settlement of grievances without resort to arms. Germans, Italians, French, English, and other European peoples may share this longing for peace, but the Hitler machine nervously and relentlessly pursues its policy for "self-determination" in behalf of the so-called German minorities in Middle Europe. The discussions between the several powers and Hitler are well evaluated, and obvious to any one is the futility of peaceful solution through agreements made hollow by political perfidy. The technique of dictatorship, with its control of press and propaganda, in connection with the Munich affair, is of particular interest. The chronology covering the Czech-German crisis from February to October, 1938, is also a valuable contribution. J.E.N.

MRS. MORTON OF MEXICO. By ARTHUR D. FICKE. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939, pp. 310.

Although the author assures his readers that the persons and events which he so vividly describes are imaginary, his "Mrs. Morton" actually lives and talks and has all the traits of a vibrant personality. Moreover, not only does she love Mexican people and scenery but she possesses superior social imagination and an unusual degree of cleverness. Each of the twelve sections of the account glows with an appreciation of the best and the worst in the individual and the societary life in Mexico.

The setting is on Lake Chapala, and the leading character is an elderly English woman who has lived in Mexico for the last half of her life. To her secluded Villa Colima come interesting characters who together with herself and her three servants furnish plenty of lively situations to be described and interpreted, chiefly through Mrs. Morton's eyes. The Mexican as he is, no better and no worse, in his superstitions and his social struggles for freedom is presented in a way to give new insight into the nature of human nature. Nearly every situation takes a surprising turn before its story is completed, and the author's style is highly enjoyable. The result is a fascinating character presentation and a reliable cultural interpretation.

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII. By the Sociology Club in Collaboration with the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii. Honolulu, 1939, Vol. V, pp. 71.

The usual high standard of this publication is maintained in its fifth annual volume. The central theme in Volume V is social disorganization in Hawaii and is based on a growing conflict of cultures, a weakening of old moral values, a growing secularization, a community disruption occasioned by the maturation of Island plantation economy, and a growing manifestation of labor unrest. Although assimilation is also taking place and the forces of good will are active, the disorganizing influences are gaining strength.

Professor Andrew W. Lind indicates that the lines between capital and labor are being sharply drawn; that the number of unemployed is becoming larger; that the professional, proprietary, and clerical positions cannot accommodate "even the major portion of the 3,000 annual graduates from our public and private high schools," and that there is a rise in the numbers of "a large lower class citizenry." Professor Herbert Blumer discusses the nature of race prejudice (1) as "a collective or shared attitude" and (2) as "a conceptualized group or abstract category." The economic and home conditions of "Honolulu Barber Girls" in terms of a culture conflict are presented by Yukiko Kimura. The remaining articles deal for the most part with differing aspects of social and public welfare work in the Hawaiian Islands. The whole document is meaty and thought stimulating.

- THE ANCIENT WORLD. By WALLACE E. CALDWELL. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937, pp. xvii+590.
- THE MEDIEVAL WORLD. By LOREN C. MACKINNEY. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1938, pp. xiii+800.
- THE MODERN WORLD. By ALICE F. TYLER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1939, pp. xi+930.

In these three volumes the history of the civilization of the Western world is remarkably well covered. The symbol on the cover of the first volume is the Parthenon; of the second, the Cathedral (Notre Dame); and of the third, the wireless. Thus the central theme of civilization has shifted in the course of the centuries. The authors deserve special credit for the uniformly high level of scholarship that is maintained and the publishers for making the latest results of historical scholarship available in three such interesting, comprehensive, and attractive volumes. The

authors have given prominence to social, political, economic, religious, and other cultural institutions. They have kept "general tendencies and major developments" to the fore. Even "the continuity of the whole story of human advance and the interaction of peoples upon each other" have received serious consideration.

Professor Caldwell defines history as consisting "of all those deeds and thoughts and beliefs which have contributed to the story of human achievement." History is "the laboratory of the social studies" where "we can see in operation the forces which govern society." After a chapter devoted to "preliterary history," the treatment includes four chapters devoted to the near Orient, and to the contributions from Egypt and Babylon which were socially inherited by Greece. Although the near Orient made many achievements in agriculture, trade, law, architecture, and art, it defied the gods and made their earthly representative, the kings, all-important. Moreover, it failed "to recognize the importance of the individual in society." Some readers will feel that the author should make clearer the difference between the near Orient and the far Orient. The student is likely to overlook the far Orient and to get the impression that it did not amount to much, for in most cases he will not take a course in the civilization of eastern Asia.

Eleven chapters tell the story of Greece. In Greece "man became the measure of all things." The Hellenes developed ideals of "political and intellectual liberty, standards of perfection in literature and art, the inquiring mind," the instructive tongue, the tendency "to look frankly at the universe and to question it and their place in it." But the city-state was "too small a unit to control effectively the forces and movements resulting from economic expansion," and its citizens had their eyes blinded with "so narrow a patriotism" that they fell victims to the Macedonian conqueror. The Greeks then moved in the wake of Alexander's armies, and the civilizations of western Asia, of Egypt, and of Greece were all changed by a fusion of Oriental and Hellenic culture. The result was the Hellenistic culture which the Romans adopted, modified, and passed on "to the Western World."

Next comes the mingling of three cultural streams, western Oriental, Greek, and Roman. Rome developed institutional and legal strength, "law and order, discipline, and a sense of power." But imperial bureaucracy was substituted for local control, and able individuals sought escape in philosophy or religion.

After prefacing his volume with a brief review of the ancient world, Professor MacKinney then picks up the tangled skein of human history. He dissents from the view that the Middle Ages are the Dark Ages.

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ne first (ame); (on has credit and the vailable s. The Instead he sees them as "an age of active reconstruction," in which the Roman civilization disintegrated, to be sure, but interacted with Christian and Germanic elements to produce "the new Western civilization." Into the rise of Western civilization there came also Moslem and Byzantine (including Roman influences) elements. The first part of the Middle Ages is called the "early Middle Ages"; it saw the passing of the Roman civilization and the rise of the new West; it extended to about 1000 A.D. The late Middle Ages (1000 to 1500) were marked by the rapid expansion of the West, the rise of the towns, the influence of the Papacy, and the birth of modern nations such as England, France, the Germanies, and the Italian city-states. Art flourished and some of the world's greatest artists graced the late Middle Ages. The Middle Ages came to an end about 1500, but this is an arbitrary division, for "like a great river, the stream of human life moves onward with increasing volume."

The historical baton is now handed to Professor Tyler. After reviewing the social and political development of the sixteenth century, she describes the Reformation; the religious wars; the triumph of parliamentary government in England; the growth of royal absolutism in France and the developing strength of Prussia and Russia; the French Revolution and then the world-wide expansion of European imperialism; the World War; and the springing into being of sovietism, Fascism, and Naziism, and now "the retreat from democracy." The book closes on the discouraging note of a recent British prime minister who, though refusing to say that he is a pessimist, yet admits that he is living in a madhouse.

It is a remarkable story that is told in these three volumes. It is refreshing to travel down the stream of human history with three such enlightened guides as Caldwell, MacKinney, and Tyler. Not dark ages and renaissances but spells of stability followed by spells of instability are the keynote to this trilogy.

E.S.B.

### SOCIAL WELFARE

THE AMERICAN PRISON SYSTEM. By FRED E. HAYNES. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939, pp. vii+377.

The author vividly describes the present-day American prison system—the problems, administration, and methods of correction, and use of probation and parole on prison farms and camps. The discussion of the community prison, of the methods of discipline, and of occupational therapy is particularly significant. The chapters on health and medical service, on education, and on inmate organization show considerable thought, research, and appreciation of the practical problems involved in prison reform.

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### PUNISHMENT AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. xiv+268.

The authors depart from the traditional discussion of the history and forms of punishment and instead concern themselves with the close relationship between the forms of punishment and the organization and values of the social group and political society. They trace the theory and practice of penal methods through mercantilism, the industrial revolution, the post World War periods, and Fascism. Such forms of punishment as penance, fines, the galley, transportation, and prison labor are discussed in relation to the changing periods and social conditions in Europe and America. The aim is to show the causes and the effects of the different methods of punishment in view of the particular social and political structure which the group treasures. The character of punishment is thus shown to be inextricably associated with and dependent upon the cultural level and the social values of the state that employs them.

The authors draw material from French, English, American, Belgian, Italian, and Swedish sources. They provide a valuable body of data scientifically gathered and analyzed. These data were hitherto not available in English. The authors are competent historical researchers; they write with considerable insight and make a substantial contribution to criminological literature.

### PAROLE WITH HONOR. By WILBUR LA ROB, JR. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939, pp. x+395.

The author, a well-known Washington lawyer, presents in simple language the realistic and dramatic story of parole in order to give the average layman a word picture of the parole system in the United States. His "principal purpose is to challenge and refute the contention that parole is contrary to the public interest because it is a form of leniency, based on sentimentality." He attempts to convince his readers that "a parole system, when honestly and adequately administered, provides the only safe method of releasing prisoners." While the book primarily addresses itself to the average layman, many a judge, police officer, and prison administrator can greatly profit by the discussion of the criminal as a human being, his background and his struggle for rehabilitation in the face of overwhelming prejudices and hostility.

The author does not claim a scientific treatise or a contribution to the literature in criminology, since he draws primarily from personal experience as chairman and member of the Board of Indeterminate Sentence and Parole of the District of Columbia.

THE CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE AS A DISTRIBUTIVE AGENCY. By Orin E. Burley. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, pp. xiv+338.

As a basis for this book the author gathered detailed information from forty-two retail co-operative societies, from sixteen wholesale societies, and from interviews with over three hundred individual members of co-operative societies, as well as from extensive research. The reader needs to keep in mind the author's emphasis on the distributive agency aspect of co-operatives. The long-term and humanity-wide framework is needed in order to keep the reader from concluding that co-operatives center in an economic function. Within the limitations that are denoted by the title, the author presents his definition, namely, that consumers' co-operatives are "economic enterprises taking the form of buying clubs or stores, set up by associations of consumers to distribute consumers' goods, usually of a fundamental nature." Vital as is this function, it overlooks the fact that consumers' co-operatives are chiefly institutions for developing the co-operative spirit, the democratic way of meeting human needs, the peaceful evolution of society.

Attention is given to the legal bases "of the consumers' co-operative as a marketing institution," to the personnel problems of co-operatives, to "centralizing agencies in consumer co-operation," to costs of operation, to "spurious co-operatives, and to other concrete aspects of retail and wholesale co-operatives." The author urges private business to recognize the American theory "that free competition is best for both producer and consumer," and that "consumers have the right to organize their own business to serve themselves." He defines some of the problems of consumer co-operation, and outlines a program for consumer co-operation. Questionnaires for studying consumers' co-operatives are appended. Important facts from the distributive agency approach are presented, and the treatment, while brief on many points, is clear cut and valuable in its field.

E.S.B.

SLUMS OF NEW YORK. By HARRY MANUEL SHULMAN. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1938.

This study was carried out under the auspices of the Rotary Club of New York City. The material was gathered at two different periods; some in a year of prosperity, 1926, and the remainder in the years 1931-1932. Attention was given to four different slum areas inhabited by immigrants and their children with the purpose of finding a solution to the problem of slum eradication.

The survey deals with fundamental social facts and covers subjects such as population trends, housing, home life, employment, recreation, health, family problems, delinquency and social patterns of the various neighborhoods. The results are based on case studies of 750 families and 1,500 male children. Since special attention was given to the boy problem, one of the three chapters allotted to each of the four districts is entitled "The Social World of the Child." The grim facts of slum life appeared altogether too horrifying, but an optimistic view is nevertheless expressed. Re-education, not slum clearance or improved housing, is the great need. Recommendations are made as to methods of putting this program into effect. The study is not overburdened with statistical tables, but case histories are extensively used to illustrate findings.

G.B.M.

### PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION. By Marietta Stevenson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. xi+352.

Here is a book that has long been needed, for as the author states in the preface, "Comparatively little has been written on administration in the rapidly developing field of public welfare." To those of us who participated actively in the field during the past few years, when unprecedented relief demands caused drastic reorganization of existing welfare units, making these years the formative period of a new era in public welfare administration, the book has particular significance. It is interesting to see how other states have handled problems similar to those found in California, how, by trial-and-error method, certain essentials were found necessary in any program, and how other phases we thought were important at the time proved to be not so significant—for example, whether the state welfare director is appointed by the governor or by a welfare board.

This book represents a chronicling of the high lights of public welfare developments of the past ten years. It does not presume to be the final word but rather the progress report on developments still in process. Definite conclusions with respect to the broader aspects, such as whether state welfare programs ultimately must be state administered or state supervised and county administered, are lacking for the reason that the answer is not yet available. On some of the more minor though none the less important aspects, conclusions and definite recommendations are found. Well worth a second reading are the sections covering such phases under "Problems of Organization," "Administrative Management," "Personal Administration," "Financial Planning and Management," and the like. On these the author speaks authoritatively and backs well her statements.

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ub of riods; 1931immito the The book is in three parts: (1) The Expanding Field of Public Welfare; (2) The Present Organization of Public Welfare; (3) The Administrative Principles and Problems.

All interested in the public welfare field should read this volume, particularly those who believe that they have the formula for the ideal public welfare program. It is to be hoped that the author plans to revise the book early to incorporate the further conclusions that are being reached as the experiment of reorganized welfare programs in the several states continues.

GEORGE D. NICKEL

CONSUMER CREDIT AND ITS USES. Edited by Charles O. Hardy, Consumer Credit Institute of America, Inc. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938, pp. x+264.

Consumer credit is a term that is being heard with increasing frequency, which is not strange, for it describes a phase of our economic life that is growing in importance and receiving more attention. The accepted definition of credit generally implies borrowing for the purpose of mobilizing for productive use a substantial body of savings, whereas with consumer credit the purpose is to enable the borrower to enjoy an income before earning it or otherwise receiving it.

This book represents the first attempt to encompass in one study the entire field although in recent years monographic and pamphlet presentations of segments of the consumer-credit field have been numerous. The authors do not presume to argue the pro's and con's of borrowing but rather, assuming that the practice of borrowing is an accepted part of our economic institutions, proceed to tell us by what methods credit in the consumer field is being extended.

The material is well organized; the presentation, logical; the style, lucid. The subject is considered from three angles: (1) the factual, describing the structure of the various credit-extending agencies; (2) the functional, discussing the type of service rendered and the cost therefor; and (3) the social, orienting consumer credit to the present economic system from the standpoint of both lender and borrower.

To indicate the scope of the study the credit agencies considered should be enumerated: personal finance companies, industrial banks and credit unions, personal loan departments of banks, pawnbrokers, remedial loan societies, and illegal lenders. A comprehensive bibliography is appended.

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The volume is timely and well worth the attention of those interested in social problems, for it deals with a new concept of credit, one that touches the lives of practically everyone, directly or indirectly, bringing new services as well as posing new social problems. GEORGE D. NICKEL

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UNION NOW. A Proposal for a Federal Union of the Democracies of the North Atlantic. By CLARENCE K. STREIT. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939, pp. xvi+315.

Mr. Streit proposes a program for helping the world out of its present serious deadlock. His plan may be idealistic, but on the other hand he deserves credit for making a far-reaching and thought-provoking challenge. He would have a union established of fifteen of the leading democratic nations, that is, fifteen nations which give their respective peoples a free democratic vote on major internal issues. England, Ireland, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa would comprise the initial group. Other nations could be included as soon as they demonstrated their ability to meet the qualifications.

The plan calls not for a league of nations, that is, not for a government of governments but for a union of citizens of the fifteen (or more) countries. Each nation, however, will "govern independently its own affairs." The new Union, or "Great Republic," will have (1) a union citizenship, (2) a union defense force, (3) a union customs-free economy, (4) a union money, and (5) a union postal and communications system. The author feels that a league of the Thirteen Colonies proved the weakness of the league idea. By the same token, a union of people is necessary. True, it would be difficult to get the original fifteen democracies to enter such a union, but not more so than it was for the independent colonies a hundred and fifty years ago to do the same thing.

The fifteen have "more than enough power to form a sound government"; that is to say, they would control "the world in raw materials, manufacturing, transportation, finance and trade," and hence would make attack by the totalitarian states useless. The people in the totalitarian states would soon insist, it is claimed, upon a change in the structure of their governments, and that they be admitted to the Union. The way to prevent war, contends the author, "is to make attack hopeless."

A House of Deputies would be formed on the basis of one deputy for every half million or million citizens, and a Senate would be composed of two senators from each nation of twenty-five million or less, two more for each additional twenty-five million up to 100 million, "and thereafter two more senators for each fifty millions." Executive authority would be vested not in a president but in a Board of five persons. Three would be elected by popular vote, one by the House of Deputies, and one by the Senate. Provision is also made for an independent Supreme Court.

The book is not well organized. The materials could have been

presented with less choppiness. The proposal goes far beyond what the people of the United States, for instance, would be willing to accept. However, anyone who can suggest a plan as a working basis for developing some kind of world association that will prove feasible and function so as to promote peaceful and co-operative activities throughout the world deserves commendation. Sociologically, Mr. Streit's proposal contains much of merit, but the people, even of the so-called democracies, are far from educated to its acceptance. It will serve, however, to create discussion, and perhaps out of the discussion will come a modified procedure that is both meritorious and feasible.

B.S.B.

## THE NEW DEAL IN ACTION, 1933-1938. By ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. 69.

In this volume Dr. Schlesinger presents a "bird's eye view" of the trend of national policy during the last five and one-half years. He points out that President Roosevelt and his advisers contend that the failure of capitalism has been due to the capitalists rather than to the system itself. The "three R's" of the New Deal have been devoted to the following measures: relief, recovery, and reform. While the leaders of business have welcomed both relief and recovery measures, they have been very hesitant to accept any measures aimed at reform. The President has encountered three important problems, namely, (1) the rebirth of the labor movement, (2) the battle over the Supreme Court, and (3) the recession and its problems. An enlightening and scholarly chapter on foreign relations concludes this thought-provoking opuscule. E.C.MCD.

#### MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY. By RAY E. BABER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939.

This addition to the growing list of books available as texts in courses on The Family will easily find considerable room. The sociological theories basic to the family and family life are well supplemented with practical considerations that must prove useful to students. As the author well says, students are not satisfied with theory alone; they want to obtain help in respect to many personal problems that confront them.

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Apart from the first chapter the arrangement of subjects should prove satisfactory to teachers of courses on The Family. The historical aspects of the family are treated in three chapters, one of which deals with early family life in America. Present-day marriage laws are presented in perhaps a somewhat too condensed form in a single chapter. Then follows a discussion of preparation for marriage, mate selection, husband-wife relationships, and parent-child interaction. The material in these chapters is

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heavily weighted with important factual information. The treatment of these facts is constructive and throws light on the essentials of successful marriage and family life. The "Endocrine Glands," "Only Children" and "Children Who Bully Their Parents" are relatively new topics for a book on the family but are decidedly pertinent.

In outlining the changing status of women the author includes a brief account of the woman movement in the leading European and Asiatic countries. The statistics on women in industry are followed with a discussion of the reasons why women want to work and some of the effects traceable to such employment. The implications resulting from such employment are outlined and considerable argument presented in favor of a system of part-time work for women.

Family disorganization in terms of divorce and desertion claims but one chapter. Birth control, substitutes for the present family system, and changing functions of the family also receive appropriate attention. Selected Readings and Topics for Discussion or Reports follow each chapter and add greatly to the effectiveness of the book as a text. The attitude of the writer is challenging and progressive, and comments are usually helpful and constructive.

G.B.M.

#### COOPERATION AS A WAY OF PEACE. By James P. Warbasse. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939, pp. xiii+111.

In the first place, the author gives the keynote to the book in the dedication when he refers to building "a peace-promoting economy in the place of the prevalent war-making system." In other words, he sees the futility of condemning war and of declaring for peace without eliminating the causes of war and without rebuilding a constructive social order. In the next place, Dr. Warbasse defines and explains in twenty-three short, succinct chapters the main principles of the co-operative movement as they have emerged out of the well-known experiences of the Equitable Society of Rochdale Pioneers in England, beginning in 1844. In so doing, he explains how each principle naturally contributes to a constructive, peaceful human society and thus serves in its way to undermine a destructive and competitive way of living. It is the positive, constructive, peacegenerating elements in the co-operative movements which will give the world a basis for a greatly needed economic and social outlook.

The consumers' co-operative movement is seen at work in creating peace-generating forces in a score of ways. When it secures a wider distribution of ownership, it lessens the tendency toward conflict. When it gives everyone in business one vote per person instead of per share, it

defeats autocracy in industry and lays low a major cause of war. When it builds on an economy of abundance instead of demanding an economy of scarcity, it directly promotes peace. When it helps all people actually to meet "their common wants and needs," it makes war unnecessary. When it develops on the basis of freedom and voluntary action, it shows up the folly of force and violence. When it makes each of its employees his own employer, it closes the chasm between employer and employee classes. When it gives economic security and stabilizes business, it "operates as a force against war." When it distributes "profits" to all and invites everyone to join in being a merchant, it substitutes a human consciousness for a class consciousness. In short, the author asserts: "We shall have peace when we live healthily in our relations with our fellow men." "Liberty is the social need." In the co-operative movement, good will is actually discovered in the making.

In these and related assertions the author draws upon his long experience with the practical phases of the co-operative movement as it has developed in England, western Europe, and America, and his reasoning possesses that weight which deserves a fair and unbiased reading. In the brief space of a hundred pages he can not fill in the details of his argument or present many facts, but this he has done in his other writings. At the best he envisages that peaceful society for which the world craves. At the least evaluation, the book brings hope, suggestions for friendly living and working together, and a social order that actually generates good will.

E.S.B.

OLD-AGE SECURITY: SOCIAL AND FINANCIAL TRENDS. By Mar-GARET GRANT. Washington, D.C.: Social Science Research Council, 1939, pp. xiii+261.

This study was undertaken by the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council and includes an analysis of the methods and results of meeting the problem of old-age security in selected foreign countries.

Noncontributory pension systems antedate contributory insurance plans. The programs developed in Denmark, New Zealand, Australia, and Great Britain are discussed, and their merits and demerits analyzed. The contributory systems studied are principally those operating in Germany, Great Britain, and Sweden. The costs of these systems are increasing, and with the gradual aging of populations, due to lower death and decreasing birth rates, a heavier burden will be thrown on the younger age groups. Furthermore, the strain on governments may affect the relative amounts contributed by them toward the insurance fund.

In most countries inadequate attention has been given to the apportionment of costs among employers, employees, and the government, and no country has built up the full actual reserves required for their protection by private companies. In the United States the reserve fund has been given a very important place—a fact which has been severely criticized. Recent amendments to the law will greatly reduce the accumulations that had been predicted. The Advisory Council on Social Security had recommended that the government contribute to the fund. If this were done, the amount of the reserve fund could be better controlled and the danger of an excess largely avoided.

CRIME AND SOCIETY: AN INTRODUCTION TO CRIMINOLOGY. By NATHANIEL F. CANTOR. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939, pp. xii+459.

The author states that the present volume differs from existing treatises on criminology (by Sutherland, Morris, Gault, White, Tannenbaum, and his own earlier volume on Criminals and Criminal Justice) in two important respects: the addition of much new material and the principles of organization. Dr. Cantor first discusses the difficulties encountered in crime research and in defining the terms in the field of criminology and criminal justices. He then describes the functions, qualifications, and competence of the police, district attorneys, defense counsel, judges, probation and parole workers, and penal administrators. He reviews the growth of criminal law and the transition from punishment to treatment. However, by treatment the author for the most part thinks of institutionalization. Very little space is devoted to individualization of the offender and social case work. He points out the limitations of crime, law, and modern life. The discussion of crime control and crime prevention in view of the present social disorder is particularly pertinent.

B.F.Y.

LABOR AND DEMOCRACY. By WILLIAM GREEN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939, pp. 194.

The president of the American Federation of Labor has written this book for the purpose of presenting a plan of action to preserve the principles of democracy with special reference to right labor relations. Plainly and simply written, it succeeds in becoming a portrait of an honest, hardworking, and faithful unionist. The first chapter sketches in a few sharp, well-defined strokes the home life and the occupational point of view of the old-time toiler in the mines. "We never knew any complaining about

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the necessity for work, only thankfulness when work was steady and income dependable." Conditioned by the union attitudes of his father and friends in the little Ohio mining village where his youth and young manhood were spent, William Green grew up with the resolution to help his fellow miners receive justice at the hands of the mine operators. So he can write with justification that the objective "of organized labor in the shortest and simplest terms possible . . . is human betterment."

Of the struggle between John L. Lewis and his Congress of Industrial Relations and the American Federation of Labor Mr. Green says little except to point out that the industrial form of union organization was early incorporated into the life of the Federation and that the principal objective of the formation of the C.I.O. was "to overrule the majority will of labor and to substitute minority rule." The blame for this rests, according to Mr. Green, on one man, and that man is John Lewis. Judging from the temper of his remarks about the C.I.O., it may be said that there is little hope for ending the dualism in union ranks at the present time. The concluding chapter is devoted to a discussion of the future of democracy in the United States. Herein the author presents five cardinal principles, namely: (1) the right of representation for the people and workers wherever welfare is concerned; (2) the definitions of work relationships by means of a definite work contract providing for collective agreements; (3) the representation of Labor on all governmental control or policy-making agencies; (4) remedying of the causes of social and economic unrest; and (5) nonutilization of the controls of dictators to mold public opinion and action. M.J.V.

### SOCIAL THEORY

SOCIAL FORCES IN PERSONALITY STUNTING. By ARNOLD H. KAMIAT. Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1939, pp. 256.

"Human society has always been essentially exploitative, autocratic, and competitive in structure and spirit," according to the author of this little psychological and philosophical treatise. This has been so because most of the adults of all races and nations have been psychologically immature. It is this immaturity, this infantility, that has prevented man from indulging more frequently in co-operative and democratic ways of living.

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Whether one believes this implicitly or not, it is assuredly a provocative point of view and one which incites both speculation and further research 1

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into the whole question of human thought and its solutions for societal problems. Certainly enough has already been written about human actions, and enough illustrative material has been gathered to guarantee the truth of the assertion that there is a large portion of human stupidity present in the world today. Real psychological maturity is perhaps at best a rarity, manifesting itself only in certain scientific fields upon occasion. Perhaps emotions in the present state of evolution in which man finds himself are as yet too powerful to be overcome by the newer and higher centers of rationality.

At any rate, the author sees a whole lot of collective paranoia present in the world and notes that the ills of the world are the results of it. He argues that governments must provide ways and means by which they may avail themselves of the resources of science. This may be done by admitting "scientists and philosophers into the councils of government in at least an advisory capacity." One of the most interesting observations is that the ordinary person considers himself to be superior to any biologist, psychologist, sociologist, philosopher, and the like, mostly on the basis that he alone possesses what passes for "common sense." This is noted as one of the main difficulties that would arise if men of science were to be called in by governments. And the worst of it is that it seems to be true: the men of science are often hailed as mere theorists and not men of practical means. This is a book, then, that may anger a good many nonscientific readers, but it will do these good to be angered by it if finally it makes them think. The book is filled with thought-stimulating materials. M.J.V.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL THOUGHT. By Emory S. Bogardus. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1940, pp. viii+564.

The author defines social thought as the product of the thinking together of socii or of associates, and presents this book as a comprehensive survey of social thought or the thinking of recognized leaders about "associative life and its problems." Little attempt has been made to appraise theoretical doctrines, and the materials are presented in a descriptive and systematic rather than in a critical manner. This inclusive volume is designed primarily to give college students not the final word on any of the principles presented but simply a first word which may lead the young scholars on to further study and research in fields of special interest. In this respect the book serves as an excellent introduction to more intensive thinking in the social sciences. The second purpose of the treatise is to meet the needs of the general reader who has little

acquaintance with the achievements of the intellectual pioneers in past and present cultures, for the history of social thought has "unlimited possibilities for throwing light on the solution of social problems today."

The book is divided into thirty-four chapters, beginning with the earliest social thought of primitive and preliterate people and tracing the development through Egyptian and Babylonian times, through East Indian and Persian cultures, and significantly enough through Chinese and Japanese thinking. Sociologists in the past have given too little attention to the Oriental social thought streams which have contributed so much to the early intellectual life of the Near East, and later to the social and political thinking of southern and western Europe.

"Social Thought of the Hebrews" (Chapter VII) brings us to familiar ground, and then the following twenty-six chapters point out the prominent beacon lights of social thought from the idealism of Plato to the logico-experimental thinking of Pareto. In this sequence "Mikhalovsky and Russian Social Thought" (Chapter XVIII) supplements the chap-

ter on "Marx and Socialistic Thought."

In a final survey (Chapter XXXIV), entitled "Development of Sociological Thought," the author states: "As distinguished from social thought, sociological thought is the analysis of the meanings to persons of social experiences and the stating of laws and the description of processes that underlie and explain all social life." The material here presented describes very briefly the rise of sociology, the scientific method in sociological research, and enumerates the well-known research techniques which scholars are finding indispensable in their field explorations. Several paragraphs on the teaching of sociology are followed by succinct references to the influence of French sociology in Russia, Belgium, Italy, and Turkey, and to the work of leading sociologists in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru.

Whenever the student is privileged to read a comprehensive work of this character which covers so much ground and of necessity devotes so little space to any one school of thought or to any one thinker, he should try to keep a clear perspective lest he lose his way among so many brilliant names and so many conflicting opinions. It would also be unfortunate if he should rest content with a simplified manual, however excellent the text may be, and miss the finer discipline which comes through a mastery of source materials.

The author recognizes the fact that a carefully selected list of primary sources is essential to a book of this general nature. Sociology as a discipline will not keep pace with other sciences if our students do not cultivate a more intimate acquaintanceship with the works of the explorers. Rigor-

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ous thinking with the masters is essential to worth-while advancement in any social science field. To take one example: Max Weber's career and scholarly thought may be summarized in a very few pages, and the student who reads the outline may assume that he knows something of this great thinker and writer; but he will fail to gain any real appreciation of Weber's logic and mental processes unless he turns to original sources. Although most of the outstanding thinkers appear in the selected bibliography of primary sources which the author has prepared, the reader will not find the names of Bagehot, Briffault, de Roberty, Ellis, Frazer, Le Play, Oppenheimer, Pearson, Ratzel, Spengler, Vico, or Worms, among others. No secondary source can quite take the place of the pathfinders in the training of future sociologists. The book is a persistent challenge to all readers to hold constantly in mind the distinction between social philosophy, theories of social reform, and social research technology, on the one hand, and sociological thought, on the other.

The style is clear and concise; the material throughout is logically and systematically arranged and shows the result of careful editing. The "Group Discussion Topics" and the "Readings" which follow each chapter are stimulating and helpful. Dr. Bogardus has given us another scholarly volume which should prove a reliable guide for the general reader as well as the aspiring sociologist who would venture "into the highlands of the mind."

WILLIAM KIRK, POMONA COLLEGE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF LAW. By N. S. TIMA-SHEFF. Cambridge: Harvard University Committee in Research in the Social Sciences, 1939, pp. xiv+418.

Law is defined as an instrument of social co-ordination. It is a social force that tends "to mold individual behavior in accordance with preestablished patterns imposed by individuals who play the role of 'supporters of patterns.' " Hence law is not an agent of progress or an encouragement to new types of behavior, but a conservation factor.

Sociology is defined as a nomographic science which aims to discover uniformities in society and to describe them. Thus the sociology of law is a nomographic science that discovers and describes the uniformities concerning society in its relation to law. The author's definition of society as the sum of interacting individuals may be seriously questioned, for society appears to be far more than a mere sum or additions. The coming together of individuals in itself sets up forces and produces results which are also a part of society, if not the most important phase.

The author sees law as perhaps the strongest of the forms of co-ordina-

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tion. The sociology of law studies the human actions and reactions that compose social co-ordination; it explains or should explain how law molds human behavior in accordance with social patterns; it indicates what the conditions are under which law is or is not efficacious. Law is viewed as ethical force. One of the main classes of social co-ordination is ethical co-ordination. It is found in "an ethical group-conviction." Ethical convictions grow into ethical rules. Changes in and differentiation in ethical rules are treated by the author at some length and with discrimination.

Another of the classes of social co-ordination is the imperative type of co-ordination or that in which force and power are the main elements. The chapter on "Changes in Power" shows how power is transpersonalized, or shifted from one person to another. It is also subject to hierarchization. But all power structures are subject to decay. They may be overcome by more powerful "power structures," or they may drift into decrepitude because of inner weaknesses, such as becoming too rigid and stratified.

A legal equilibrium tends to develop between "group-conviction and the resulting socio-ethical pressure" and the polarization of power where dominance and submission obtains. An especially significant chapter deals with the integration of law in culture. Law becomes integrated with the other leading phases of culture in meaningful ways. The sociology of law has taken several steps forward as a result of Dr. Timasheff's profound analyses.

E.S.B.

RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. By Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939, pp. xiv+448.

"In this book emphasis is placed upon the integrative and coordinate aspects—the balance and cooperation necessary for community development." During the World War many wartime activities were organized on the community basis. A lively interest was maintained in community organization during most of the "reconstruction" period, but the economic depression seems to have halted the movement, except for certain special developments. The early period produced a series of books and pamphlets and numerous articles of importance on this subject, most of which dealt with rural organization. Dwight Sanderson maintained a continuous interest in the subject as is evidenced in the emphasis found in *The Farmer and the Community* (1922), *The Rural Community* (1932), and now the contribution to the analysis of the organizational aspects of the community.

SOCIAL THEORY

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Sanderson and Polson do not trace the history of community organization, as was done by Jesse F. Steiner, but they cite numerous cases of communities which have had some form of community co-ordination for some time. After calling attention to the importance of the rural community as a unit of study, the authors discuss the nature and aims of community organization, citing cases illustrating the purposes of co-ordinated efforts. A direct form of community organization is open to all citizens who desire to become members of it and participate in it. The indirect form consists of a council composed of representatives of the various community agencies and institutions. The special interest type is an organization devoted to one or more special activities, as a village improvement association, a farm organization, a commercial club, or an organization that centers in the school or in a church. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to the practical problems of procedure, community projects, techniques for making the work effective, and leadership. The relationship between local programs and county and state organizations, and the place of community organization in national life are likewise stressed. It is not only a useful textbook but is a helpful guide to all persons interested in rural improvements through local co-ordination.

CONSUMER CREDIT AND ECONOMIC STABILITY. By ROLF NUGENT. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939, pp. 420.

"It is the thesis of this volume that consumer credit fluctuations have contributed substantially to the amplitude of cyclical movements in recent years and that they represent an increasingly powerful force toward economic instability."

Part I deals with the historical development of consumer credit from 1800 to 1938, the forces underlying its growth and cyclical movement, and the agencies and techniques of its use. The types of consumer credit are clearly defined.

Part II analyzes the economic consequences of fluctuations in consumer credit and attempts to theoretically determine the relationship between movements of consumer credit and production, applying both the classical theory and the newer dynamic analysis. The conclusion is that only under conditions of full employment is the classical theory tenable that "an expansion of consumer credit could expand the production of consumer's goods only at the expense of the producer's goods industries, and a contraction of consumer credit would result only in a shift of productive factors back to the producer's goods industries." The conclusion from the application of the dynamic analysis to the available data is that under conditions of incomplete utilization of productive factors "expansion in

consumer credit will tend to induce a multiple expansion of incomes and production, while contraction of consumer credit will tend to induce a multiple contraction of incomes and production." Because of the disruptive effect of expanding and contracting consumer credit totals upon the national income the author suggests that they should be controlled as to time and amplitude to fit the blueprint of the whole economy.

Part III presents the data upon which the development of the thesis was made and explains the sources of and methods of computing the amounts of the major types of consumer credit. The author freely admits the possibility of error in the compilation of the data but does not feel that such error is sufficient to effect the validity of his thesis.

This book is the second published in the literature of consumer credit and its agencies; it is the first dealing with the dynamic nature of consumer credit and its relation to the business cycle. Mr. Nugent presents his thesis logically, persuasively, and without dogmatic assertion. His proposal for control of consumer credit movements is a valuable contribution to a possible blueprint in the field of national economy.

VANDYCE HAMREN

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SOCIETY IN TRANSITION. By HARRY ELMER BARNES. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1939, pp. xxi+999.

Modern society is pictured as "in one of the major transitional periods in human experience." Resemblance may be seen between the present era of transition and the earlier periods of cultural transformation; yet certain contrasts are outstanding. The purpose of this book is to describe the major problems of today in the light of history as well as of present conditions.

The first section deals with the historical background of our transitional age, with a description of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of machines, the social and economic changes produced by industrialism, the intellectual emancipation and the rise of secularism which accompanied economic changes.

Next Barnes considers the physical and economic basis of our social problems. After mentioning the natural resources with which we started in America, he stresses in particular the enormous waste of these resources and the slow progress of conservation. The leading economic problems of our day are enumerated. Population problems, human migration, the racial situation, especially of the Negro, certain aspects of the sex problem, and the struggle against disease and pain are treated as sociobiological problems of modern society. The institutional impact of the urban

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industrial society, the corresponding revolution in rural life, the new forms of social control—mass information and propaganda—and the institutional crisis occasioned by the cultural lag are given special consideration.

The spread of crime and its repression and prevention; certain aspects of social pathology, notably prostitution and venereal diseases; mental diseases and defects and the rise of mental hygiene; poverty and the development of relief and of social legislation are considered as parts of our social wreckage and the efforts made to salvage the victims and possibly to prevent the occurrence of further wreckage.

The book is full of concrete facts and relatively free from bias. Much of the material may be known to the reader, but it is assembled in a concise and challenging manner. While the present period in American history is regarded as rather dark and depressing, it presents, nevertheless, an opportunity, socially and educationally, to move ahead to better things.

M.H.N.

# NEWS AND THE HUMAN INTEREST STORY. By Helen MacGill Hughes. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940, pp. xxiii+313.

As pointed out by Robert E. Park in the "Introduction," the news-papermen's profession has far-reaching ramifications. Not only is it important today in its own name, but it has furnished the leaders in the new profession of public relations. It has furnished the world of institutions and agencies with its press agents and indirectly made pressure groups potent. Moreover, "the so-called pressure groups, operating largely through the press, have more or less superseded Congress in the forming of public opinion and, indirectly, in the making of laws."

Mrs. Hughes has pursued the "human interest" phase of the newspaper in many specific connections, such as "the front page," "the reporter and the news," "the broadside ballad," "sensationalism," and "popular literature and the mores." A great deal of concrete, historical material has been introduced; in fact, Mrs. Hughes' work is an interesting historical treatment of vital phases of American journalism.

Human interest is "the interest in the common fortunes, fears, and fates of mankind, appearing in a new expression." The items "are charged with an import for the persons involved." In addition, this "private momentousness" is sensed by the reader. Human interest is found largely in the personal, in the problems of "private relationships," in the dilemmas confronting one who is trying to get ahead, and in the conflicts between one's own wishes and the wishes of others. The popular literature

of journalism is highly perishable, having a span of life "equal to the interval between editions of the newspaper." Yet it is "a robust medium" whereby people may expedite "an understanding of themselves." A carefully prepared bibliography is appended. In this excellent sociology of the essence of journalism, namely, the human interest story, the author maintains a restrained presentation throughout. She never lets herself go. The objective, impersonal viewpoint enables her to make a contribution that extends far beyond the realm of journalism and reaches into a sociology of personality.

E.S.B.

## THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL CHANGE. By Newell L. Sims. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1939, pp. viii+477.

This is Dr. Sims' outstanding sociological contribution so far. In his treatment of social change he has done far more than bring together important data according to a new plan of organization. He has made a noteworthy contribution to the sociological understanding of the nature of social change. His materials appear in four parts, as follows: historical aspects of social change, natural factors in social change, the nature of social order and change, and the process of social change. Perhaps Part IV with its analysis of the process of social change is the most significant section. Here he defines the automatic and mechanistic aspects of change, the purposive types of change including societal planning, and revolutionary processes of change. He accepts the cyclical process pattern, which may be viewed with favor if by cyclical he would include a roughly spiral pattern. He emphasizes an authoritarian-liberal cycle (similar to Sorokin's "compulsory-contractual fluctuation" theory). The swing from authoritarianism to liberalism and back again comes about, according to Dr. Sims, through the development of social conditions and relations that give rise to purposeful efforts. The reader will find some points at which he will want more information. It may not be clear to him, for example, how cultural lag is a sociodynamic and hence in itself a social force rather than the result of an unbalance in social forces. He may want a further explanation of the process pattern. But these are points at which the author will be able to perfect his own thinking and to make additional contributions such as time, criticism, and further reasoning will stimulate.

E.S.B.

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# LEVIATHAN AND THE PEOPLE. By R. M. MacIver. University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1939, pp. ix+182.

Although recognizing democracy as a Leviathan, because of its size and its many social regulations, yet it is a Leviathan "without terror," according to Dr. MacIver. However, there are three modern Leviathans which because of their methods are dangerous. There is "the vast sprawl-

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ing fumbling Leviathan of the Soviets; there is the quick-changing, double-jointed Leviathan of the fascists; and there is the truest example of the breed, the closely knit nazi Leviathan with its proud scales and its terrible teeth and the smoke that goeth out of its nostrils." These three have different philosophies, but they have the same institutional structure in the matter of government. They all exercise a totalitarian type of power. Even "the capitalist who looked to fascism as the way of salvation is beginning to fear that between fascism and communism there is only the difference between the frying pan and the fire."

Dr. MacIver distinguishes carefully between the state and government, and between society and the state. The government is "the administrative agent of the state." Society is a social matrix in which we all live and which is immensely "more rich and subtle than the rigid delineaments of the state." Moreover this matrix "sustains our daily life whereas the state is aloof and impersonal, a majestic name we reverence or an ominous thing we fear." Democracy makes the vital distinction between the state and society or community, and its life depends on "the free operation of conflicting opinions." These lectures are a valuable contribution at a time when so many people even in our own country are confused in their thinking about democracy.

E.S.B.

#### SOCIAL PHOTOPLAY

Gone With The Wind, historical novel of the great collapse of Southern chivalry brought to the screen, refreshes the memory of that vivid era prior to the great war between the North and the South. This day of beauty, romance, and color rides high upon the period of the war and its reconstruction months. Three complete changes, as marked as ladies' fashions, are undergone in the South during the eleven years covered by events described in the book by Margaret Mitchell. Scarlett's clothing points to the realism of this change: first, the wealthy South and the hoopskirt era, prewar; second, the makeshift models of the poverty-stricken war years; and third, the bustle modes of the reconstruction period. The picture presents these three-prewar, war, and reconstruction-so vividly that they breathe the very air with you. Gone With The Wind has two finely drawn and superb characters. The character of Rhett Butler is clear, concise, and very real. As a personality study he stands up under the most careful analysis without exhibiting a weakness or flaw in his inflexibility. The character of Scarlett O'Hara breathes life into everything she contacts. Conceited, spoiled, arrogant-yet she has courage and determination. This is probably the reason why so many people secretly admire her, even though she thoroughly needs a good, sound, old-

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fashioned trouncing. Two people with as rebellious and selfish a nature as these are bound to make trouble for themselves as well as for those whose lives swing too closely around their own orbits, even in the face of the quiet era of old Southern days. Thrown into the boiling pot of a war era in which ideals were being fought for by ragged, hungry individuals, Scarlett and Rhett struggled. Through physical labor, killing, cheating, lying—as Scarlett, on her knees in the run-down fields of Tara, vowed she would do—each in his own way climbed over the struggling people whose strength and determination for food and shelter could not outwit the terrors of reality.

Thus the story deals with the way two persons mold their own destinies. But the deeper currents show that when great changes are suddenly thrust upon people, the weak fall by the wayside and are not able to adjust to them, while the strong take these changes in their stride and carry on. Before the war the South was the last stand of chivalry-its large welcoming verandas, its ladies with hoopskirts, its gentlemen and horsemanship, its slaves, and its wealth were all a part of a romantic and colorful era. But after Sherman finished marching through the South, chivalry was buried alongside the men that fought for it. The war period was filled with tragedy and bitterness for the Southerners, and those warring days were far milder than war as we know it today. Relief for the mind came after the last volley was fired, but with it came lack of food. For many months before the great reconstruction period began, the proud South lived meagerly from hand to mouth. The reconstruction period was a true test of Southern metal, and characters like Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler fought with every weapon they could and finally won over hunger. This period brought in the carpetbaggers, the free Negroes, the mixing of Yankee and Southern blood, together with the financial bankruptcy of the South, the scar of which it still wears. The greatest changes in the history of the South were brought about during the eleven years' span of Gone With The Wind. The picture is so poignantly real that Southerners are experiencing a revival of prejudices, and the old animosities toward the North are being felt even by a generation that had almost forgotten them.

Mr. Smith Goes to Washington does one thing effectively; namely, it "shows up" the political gangster and depicts vividly the devious ways in which he "fixes" legislation. He is seen as the representative of greed, securing the election of "good men" to office and bringing about their defeat if they refuse to vote as they are told. He is seen spreading lies about the officeholder who tries to represent the commonweal. He is revealed as a manipulator of the press, the manufacturer of calumny, but as the public exponent of "patriotism." He bribes the press and fools the

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public, until they believe the lies which he spreads in flaring headlines against the simple admirer of Lincoln, the country "greenhorn" who sets out to work for a welfare project. Moreover, another point is made by the picture, that a simple-minded but honest individual may confound the greedy and sophisticated "invisible government" by the exercise of determination, courage, and devotion to a single social purpose. True, the picture pokes fun at the youthful Lincoln admirer, and to superficial observers these scenes will eclipse the portrayal of political chicanery which is presented in all its stark realism. Even a half-witted appreciation of this portrayal makes one gasp at the depths to which democracy has been dragged by those who in public pose as its friends and at the subversive influences of some who shout the loudest in behalf of liberty and Americanism.

Ninotchka, apparently a propaganda picture, makes fun of the serious five-year plans in Russia. Although new Russia is looking toward every individual as an equal, these same individuals now seem anxious to step away from the class ranks to a little more private existence, where marching feet and saluting comrades are not the order of the day. A Russian agent, Ninotchka, has been raised on the strict principles to which the government claims their strength and superiority: love, biological but unromantic; food, simple but unsavory; and clothes, useful but uninspiring. Ninotchka's views include a kind of freedom for the masses. In reality, this freedom is in name only; for the government now owns all property and industries, while government officials educate the people spiritually, mentally, and physically. By military tactics, the ability and self-respect that still linger are ground to submissiveness and obedience, and the unimaginative masses are totally unaware of any other life than subjection. Ninotchka, while in Paris, the capitalist city, falls in love with a wealthy carefree young man. She loses her government-supervised ideals while in love, and drinks champagne instead of goat's milk and wears a low-cut evening gown instead of a blouse and skirt. Although she still believes that capitalists are not yet to be entrusted with the faith and submissiveness of the masses, Ninotchka finds pleasure in the freedom of mind and spirit that goes hand in hand with those favored by capitalism. The rigidness of her mind, due to her military training, now melts and Ninotchka laughs and lives and loves.

This film shows quite clearly the mechanical state in which the Russians have been living. These people who are so used to being ruled over by a Czar cannot yet grasp the thought of freedom. While the government talks freedom and individual rights, it really exercises strict control, and governmental dimensionalism is the universal pattern. However, its category of thinking as indicated in the picture includes the improvement

of the living conditions of the masses. Freedom swings dangerously close to the common people, and when they catch hold, when Russia laughs, this present military regime may be upset.

v.E.

#### SOCIAL DRAMA

THE MAN WHO CAME TO DINNER. A Play in Three Acts. By George S. KAUFMAN and Moss Hart. New York: Random House, 1939, pp. 195.

A registered hit and sensation in New York, this delightful and uproarious comedy depends for its success upon the brilliant brittleness of its dialogue. Its central character, Sheridan Whiteside, is said to behave much as Alexander Woollcott would behave if he were placed in similar circumstances.

Whiteside, on a lecture tour, is billed to appear in a small Ohio town; its leading citizens, ardent admirers of the notable figure, capture him for an evening dinner. As he is about to enter the house, fate overtakes him, for he slips on the icy steps. His consequent injury forces him to extend the dinner visit for several weeks. The play's action reveals what ordeals these small-town people have to undergo when the celebrated and acidulous Mr. Whiteside happens to have to live with them. He proceeds to make the Stanley household subject to his every whim and turns the living room into a kind of central casting bureau. He bullies, insults, interferes, and annoys the whole family, threatening at every turn to sue the Stanleys for his accident. But underneath it all, he has a heart of gold, the essence of which he pours out to those who are in desperate need of a common sense stripped of the tenderest of the heartstrings.

The playwrights have drawn a character that stands out as a triumphant piece of work. New York critics report that the role is being played with delicious malice by Monte Wooley, whiskers and all. The lines of the comedy sparkle with racy, biting, and highly seasoned wit. Certainly, the sharp tongue of Mr. Woollcott so evident in many of his town-crier radio programs has been made the subject for a load of mischief in this giddy play. How he manages to upset the staid ladies of the town, to break up at first but finally to mend most ingeniously a romance, to direct the course of true love—all these are points of interest in the further disclosures of the amazing and remarkable character of Whiteside. The comedy is revelatory, too, in many respects of the culture complexes of the American scene, giving brief but finely drawn etchings of life in Hollywood, New York, and the small town. There's a lot more in it than can be discovered by casual reading. In fact, it deserves serious study because, despite its gaily decorated surface, it has a tough meatiness underneath it all. M.J.V.